



FREDERICK THE GREAT

(1712-86)

THUS SPAKE GERMANY

EDITED BY

W. W. COOLE and M. F. POTTER

Foreword

By THE RT. HON. LORD VANSITTART
P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

Ignorantia semper nocet

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FOREWORD

by LORD VANSITTART

AT the beginning of this year I published *Black Record*. It was subjected to so much distortion that I shall preface by a few 'impres of the obvious everything that I write about Germany. I may not ensure dispassion, but I can at least hamper dishonesty.

When I speak of Germans I do not mean 100% of Germans. I mean the majority, and the great majority, of Germans, who have thought as they have confessed, and who have acted as we know. There is no possible argument about that. The argument arises only because my critics would have liked me to say something that I have not only not said but expressly disclaimed. They then proceed to found their own arguments on what might have suited them had I said it. That is not controversy but cheating. I have no axe to grind in this vital contest. I am only determined that the axe shall not again be ground for the neck of the coming generation by those who would sooner grind it than admit that they were wrong. The contest is not for marbles but for millions—of innocent lives. I repeat therefore in the plainest and simplest terms that by the expression "Germans" I do not mean 100% of the inhabitants of Germany. But I do most expressly mean well over 75%, as events have amply and repeatedly demonstrated. And I hope, though I cannot yet be sure—nor can anyone else—that these approximate percentages may, and will, be reversed in some happier, but distant, future. For the present we must never lose sight of the fact that the German nation was solidly behind the Kaiser in the last war—while it went well—and it is solidly behind Hitler in this one so far; for Nazism is a people's movement, just as this war, like the last, of which it is a continuation, is a people's war.

I further observe once again that I have never advocated the "extermination" of the German people, or anything approaching it. I repudiate "racialism", but affirm national differences, which are not in Germany's favour. It would not be necessary to disclaim mere silliness but for the controversial methods of our neo-appeasers.

I have said, and say again, that the German nation needs the most drastic cure in history, and that, if it is not applied, the world will die of the German disease. That should be plain enough. This book will make it plainer. I hope it will be studied at Cliveden and by the *New Statesman*, by the *Catholic Herald* and the *Tribune*. Messrs. Hulton, Laski, King-Hall may be fair to it; it is not mine. From all these varied quarters the authors may expect generous, if tardy, testimonials. Perhaps the Lords Arnold and Ponsonby will skim it.

I further observe that the reason and necessity for a book like this are not those of adding to the dislike of Germany and German methods, though almost everybody in the world has now good cause to dislike both, and Mr. Churchill himself has described the universal hatred that the German race is laying up for itself. The reason and necessity for this book are that unless the world will, at long last, recognise and face the Germany that, deliberately, has been and is, there is no chance whatever of the Germany that might be. You cannot expect to cure an endemic disease, if you do not even know what it is. There are still many people who are determined to ignore it. The great majority of the people of the world do, however, desire to know, because they desire the cure. So do we. But here is the fever-chart of a nation. The authors have taken their degree in German political medicine; and no hullabaloo among medical students at the back of the hall will change the character of the exhibit. In all these points I am at one with the authors.

It is unfortunate that one should have to preface even a preface by an attempt to obviate crude calumny in these grave matters. International affairs are, however, the one field in which it *seems* easy to lay down the law without ever having practised it. This book will, I think, be hailed as an enlightenment. It has been compiled by two authors of the highest distinction and authority who, belonging to a friendly nation, have adopted pseudonyms solely for important personal reasons due to the present war conditions. The authors, I imagine, have taken their title from Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. Many readers will realise for the first time what a mouthful Germany has said. Why did nobody listen? Perhaps even now it is not too late.

Everyone knows in one sense why we are fighting this war. That has been sufficiently demonstrated by the publication of State Papers. Germany left no alternative to her fellow-dwellers upon the earth

that she has rendered well-nigh uninhabitable. In all the five wars that she has recently made, she never has left any alternative, so soon as she was ready to strike. In every case appeasement, mediation, conference were urged upon her. In every case the ogress rejected them. She always "wanted war", like Hitler. That in a word is German policy—a quite consistent one. I could write volumes on its execution; but I am only here to write a short preface. Everyone, moreover, knows that we are fighting against "evil things". How evil they *are* a world loth to believe the worst is learning to its cost. What it did not know, still does not know clearly, is how they *became* so evil, how Germany—by an equally consistent policy—trained and equipped for power-politics all that is worst in human nature. In that other sense the world is still not clear why we are fighting. And this book is going to make it clear.

Not everyone has had a chance of following the development of the German war-mind from its methodical beginnings to its wilful return to barbarism. This book brings the chance to every door, and every door and mind should be opened to it. It is the evidence of German guilt. It is not *all* the evidence of course; it is only a small part. The authors—and I—could multiply evidence of this kind indefinitely. They have, however, selected wisely, so that their scholarly work may not only be accessible but unforbidding. I hope that all lovers and seekers of knowledge will take and welcome their chance. This book is, indeed, so well and clearly filled that it need not even be read consecutively. It is a well into which everyone can dip, into which every wise man will dip constantly for the truth. Unless he rejects it out of blindness or charity, through bias or connection, or cowardice or caprice, for mazochism or money, he will have to surrender to this evidence. There is no answer to it. It is pure German.

Those of us who foresaw and foretold the wars of 1914 and 1939 were not thinking at random. We knew the German originals of this book. It was this knowledge of the German mind and its manifestations, the accumulated testimony of generations, that enabled us to be sure of what was coming, because the Germans intended it to come. Yet they continually flew into paroxysms of rage if one pointed out to friends, let alone to them, our imminent enemies, their own proclaimed intentions. Hitler cried havoc more openly than any of his predecessors; but they all gave their game away. It

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is an astounding joke, and a very bad one, that so many people refused to believe or listen to these raucous indiscretions. It is because the German game was so transparent that some of my compatriots, who were duped and never should have been duped, are still so irritable when it is shown up. One cannot help showing them up at the same time. It is only they who will dislike this book.

I had intended to write a long preface to it. It will be a better compliment to write a short one. Comment is indeed almost superfluous. This much, however, I must point out: the Germans here answer for themselves, and finally, two vital questions. Is Hitler an accident or a culmination? Are we at war with Nazism or the German nation? The Germans reply as plainly as I do: Hitler is no accident, but a deliberate and inevitable outcome. We are therefore at war not only with Nazism but with the German nation—I do not say “race”.

Some have been unable to face this fact through sheer lack of information. Here now is the information. There is really nothing to argue about. We are at war with the German nation because our real enemy is German Militarism. And Militarism has a long and well-established hold over the German *people*, including the workers. It is vain to ride off on the hobby-horse that German workers (or German bourgeois or German intellectuals) are not Germans. With widely and rather thinly spread exceptions the bulk of them are at this moment enjoying the prospect of becoming the Master-folk, and they are working in solid and effective harmony with Hitler. Germans in the plural, regardless of class or occupation, have nails in the soles of their boots for the hands of any who might come up the ladder after them. For the purposes of war and its German satisfactions—I am not talking of peace and its German discontents—you cannot psychologically compartmentalise Germany. If Hitler were a compartmental accident instead of a “total” and representative culmination, it would not have been possible to predict the war of 1939 with even *more* certainty than the war of 1914. But it *was* possible: from 1919 there was never the faintest doubt as to the intentions of German militarism. There would never have been any doubt in any honest mind, had these texts been accessible. Hitlerism is only the last and worst product of militarism; and it happened to be produced in the south. Militarism is nation-wide. We are at war, the world is at war, with German militarism.

Let us cast a glance at the order in which the authors have arranged their evidence.

After dinner, during one of the many Conferences that succeeded the last war, Briand began a game with us. He offered a prize for the best answer to the question: "What would you do if you arrived in America with a shilling in your pocket?" Philippe Berthelot—a brilliant man who would have been still more brilliant but for his boyish delight in his own cynicism—replied: "I should start preaching a new religion." (No, he didn't win the game.) The Nazis have sought to relieve their intellectual bankruptcy by preaching a new religion; but that also is only a culmination. It was considered an advantage—particularly in the nineteenth century—to find a religious basis, or anyhow justification, for rapine; and far-seeing German expansionists were early on the look-out for one.

For many generations there had been a murmuring German movement for a shouting German creed. It was more or less dimly realised that Christianity would not fill the German bill. Much of Fichte's political teaching was already incompatible with the practice of Christian principles. At first it was thought that the trick could be done by depicting Christ as a bellicose blond. This semi-avowed shift

had saved Him from His wan
Repute and thrust him in our van,
Bronzed, scarred. Alas, the first Crusade
Had made Him out a fighting man.

This first Crusade failed as it deserved. It was never inspired by much conviction. As our authors say: "At times German thought recoiled before too bold and sincere an enunciation of its position, and then it took the still more cynical road of pretending that everything which was for the good of Germany was also for the good of Christianity." Alternatively it attempted—feebly—to assert that Christianity "owes its enduring values to the German character". The more resolute never thought that a "heroic" Christ was really adaptable to thuggery. You will see that many writers like Klaus Wagner and Heygrodt "had a stab at it", but there was too much of that "other cheek" in Christianity, and the meekness of the crucifixion was insurmountable. The keener Heine had seen as early as 1834 that *Thor* was the god for the German job, and you will find this spasmodic idea in all sorts of printed rags and hunnish bones at the end of the last century. Might not thuggery however at least dissociate Christianity from its humane tenets by tarring them with Judaism? Christianity, for example, says unsavoury Hans Blüher,

"bears no relation to the Jewish invention of so-called love of mankind or love of one's neighbours". Again the gambit was unworkable. The war was made and lost. A new war must be prepared. ("If at first you don't succeed, try, try again" is a maxim of militarism rather than appeasement.) The temporarily frustrated German expansionists were meanwhile in a very bad temper with God. That's what you get for putting up with, let alone serving, anything that isn't exclusively German. Note the word "exclusively". It is a keyword. "I reject Christianity because it is international," fumed Ludendorff. But Germans, though they can think clearly, except when they are angry, rarely think straight. In a little while the Jews were no longer branded as disseminators of international love, but as fomenters of international hate. Having got away with the ensuing rehearsal in persecution, the Germans also went back on the idea that Christianity had any "enduring values" at all. It must be liquidated and replaced. Nobody was more convinced of this than "Church Minister" Kerrl, and Hitler's prophet, Alfred Rosenberg, a ponderous light-weight. "Both the Catholic Church and the Evangelical Confessional Church, as they exist at present, must vanish from the life of our people." In a word, for acts that were of advantage to the Fatherland "there is no need to give any religious foundation".

Now I do not of course say that all the German race lent themselves to the conducted *crescendo*. On the contrary, many Germans disliked the whole performance. But the great majority of the German *nation* lent itself to the political action which harmonised with these blarings. Indeed, I have touched upon them just because their very cacophonies show the thoroughness of German practice. The German nation was determined to expand at the expense of weaker vessels. That involved ruthlessness. A ruthless sanction was necessary. Christianity would not be ruthless? Then it must go. The Third Reich would still be on the side of the angels, but they must fly at four hundred miles an hour, and carry cannon. If Germans cannot get their way by one manner, they will by another. They are so pertinacious that they become almost adaptable. The religious sphere is only an illustration, a small part of the whole grim picture, but it was necessary to sketch it.

The authors pass naturally from this aspect of German mentality to its logical sequel, the deification of Germany, and the yearning of this dubious god for a Messiah. Note again the word "dubious";

for the German is seldom sure of himself, despite his trumpeting. Someone has got to tell him. That is why he needs a Messiah or a Führer. The two merge naturally into each other. He could not quite deify Old Fritz, or Bismarck or Wilhelm; but he has succeeded in deifying Adolf. Every bad German tendency has been increasing for the worse. You will find in this next section the desire for a Führer clearly expressed at a time when little Adolf was still failing in arithmetic on a slate. For him two and two must make twelve, if they are Germans; and then they get a medal for proliferation. A Führer is the itch of Admirals and heavy industrials before the last war, and of militarists and babblers like Ludendorff and Class immediately after it. Soon the urge is felt by Seldte for the Stahlhelm, by the pseudo-philosopher Spengler, by oncoming Nazis and backsliding churchmen. And finally Adolf was It. "We believe on this earth in Adolf Hitler alone," said Dr. Ley. "We believe in this world in Adolf Hitler alone," echoed the schoolchildren. Austrian Adolf was the German Ersatz God. He had dethroned the international Almighty. Do not smile. Germans are *not* like other people. The mongrel Schicklgrüber fulfilled an old and deep popular requirement; the heavy industrialists and heavier philosophers could never else have "put him over". Divine Adolf just went over big, after some confused voting to which innocents attached unwarranted importance. He was no accident; he was an impossibility anywhere but in Germany. There the spiritual as well as the political way had been prepared for him through the ages. Caligula made a consul of his horse; and it was a joke, and he was mad. But Hitler was no joke, and the German people are not mad. They are only crazy—for power. Adolf had no difficulty in sending them to hunt for idealism inside a tank.

And why did the great majority of Germans want this kind of idealism? To answer that question you must first ask what has been the German ideal? It has been to have a big biceps and lots of little heads to punch. This ideal has been put into the weak and determined German pate by the same Militarism with which intellectual Germany vociferously identified itself and its pupils and *people* in 1914. They all knew well enough that they wanted their war just as much as Hitler wanted his. They too wanted the earth, "and to reach that end", our authors point out in Section 3, "Germany may pass with an untroubled German heart through a sea of blood and tears of other nations". Theologians, Jurists, Geographers,

Historians, Professors of every kind, Conservatives, Liberals, Socialists, all here display the same excess of appetite and shortage of scruple. In all of this, and in all of them, there was nothing unforeseen. "The philosophical father of that policy, with its lack of all moral principle, was Fichte." Fichte died in 1814. The actors succeed each other, and the play remains the same in the theatre of war. It speaks of "Hitlerism", instead of "Pangermanism", just as it speaks of "living-space" instead of "a place in the sun". The German jargon, but not the stuff of its dreams, changes. Yet the bristling reveries were overlooked, and after each awakening there was a world-trade in Lethe water. It brought to Stresemann, annexationist and admirer of Frederick, the Nobel Peace Prize. "What renders that sovereign (Frederick the Great) so present to our memory is not our monarchical faith; *he is for us the personification of the ancient Prussian spirit.*" That was Stresemann, Chairman of the National Liberal Party, and founder of the German People's Party. (Read everything that he says in this book.) "The spirit of Potsdam shall fill us in the future." "The eternal ethics of Prussianism remain." That was Goering. Men say the same thing for different motives, but it is still the same thing. The distance between Frederick and Hitler may be reckoned as the crow flies. "In the higher sense I know of no more genuine Prussian than the Führer." That is Goering again.

And what is this spirit that they all worship? We had better hear Frederick himself on that. Its essence is in the heading of Section 4. "The surest means of concealing a ruler's secret ambition is for him to manifest peaceful sentiments until the favourable moment for revealing his secret designs." That is the gospel of Force and Fraud. Its peroxide prophets—here they are—have been foretelling through the ages

Change upon all the Eternal Gods had made
And on the Gods alike,
Fated as dawn but, as the dawn, delayed
Till the just hour should strike.

They thought it had struck in 1914; but something went wrong with the works. The whole mechanism of calamity had to be restarted, and a chorus of patter-merchants was hired to drown the clang of the repairs. There were strong English elements in that chorus. I shall have more to say of them on another occasion.

Section 4 gives you a sample of the patter-merchants at work.

Their success in persuading others has been perhaps less remarkable than their success in persuading themselves. They can say in one breath that "the twenty-five *pacific* years of our Kaiser's reign can be considered only as a period of preparation for *war*", and in the next that "passionate love of right, of justice, of morality, this is something which the other nations have not got". No German sees anything funny in that. All classes and strata and persuasions are in this solemn faculty of self-deception. It is so potent that Hitler may well have believed himself for at least five minutes after each successive disclaimer of further desires. There is nothing exceptional about him. Germans are built that way. You can easily convince yourselves of that by reading this book. Indeed, you can convince yourselves of nothing else; and you will not be surprised that so much fixity of design is accompanied by so much mobility of pretext. Teutons are always mobilisable. They are more restless than Latins. Their restlessness becomes shiftiness, and they call it dynamism, which—if it could—would make the world a wilderness and call it peace. They are shocking neighbours, because they are doggedly cattish. They are always trying to go one better—or worse. They have not yet learned to enjoy the day. It is The Day that dazzles and deludes them. In pursuit of it they have abandoned "the false idea of objectivity". Science, like religion, had to be all-German, and shaped to a German end like everything else. In consequence science has been prostituted and, of necessity, sterilised. That is the lesson of Section 4.

I have dwelled a little on these earlier sections, because they provide the key to an understanding of Germany's chief tendency in thought and action. It is summed up in a word that I have already used. For generations everything that is wrong with both has been going *crescendo*. Just as religion and science have been brought by stages to their present pass, so have German arrogance, contempt for small neighbours, hatred and envy of great ones, and therewith the lust of expansion, and therewith again the glorification of war, been steadily and generally mounting. This foul concatenation has ended, and by no chain of accidents, in the fetters and dungeons of the Nazi dispensation—and its consequences. The German people have been, and must not be, at home in them. "Honestly and frankly do we desire war," wrote Heimdall in 1907. I shall not multiply quotations from Section 5, for they could be multiplied a thousandfold in a steady ascendant. *Crescendo* is again the musical direction. The

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Nazis have only made worse what was already horrible, because every main German value was, and is, wrong. "We want war." Of course you do, if you think war "beautiful". The best and the worst had combined to convince you of its "beauty" long before your lamentable taste beguiled you into deifying not a super-man but a half-man.

If people continually want war, they cannot be too particular as to the means by which they get it. The keynote is struck in the first quotation of Section 6. "Treaties are only oaths of deception and faithlessness," wrote Sacred Fritz. Go a hundred years further. "All charters are only scraps of paper," said Frederick William IV. You can see where Bethmann-Hollweg got *his* ideas about scraps of paper in the next century. And Hitler has made a paper-chase out of German Words of Honour, and the People have followed him. Yes, Bismarck, Wilhelm, Hitler, have been faithful to Frederick's principle; and no one will deny that Hitler has out-blared his predecessors. "*Rebus sic stantibus*" and "Necessity knows no law". That's the ticket. They all say the same, Treitschke and Bernhardi, Bethmann-Hollweg and Class, all the tin gods, all the brass trumpets, all the small mouthpieces of the elect people and the law-givers of The New Jungle. "What are you muttering then, bespectacled professors and carpet-slipped theologians?" shouted angry Harden, who passed for a 'good' German in his day. "That there is such a thing as right? . . . Away with the nonsense. . . . Force, a fist, that is everything." Steady, Harden! They need no bullying. They were saying: "Go to it"—just like you. They always had said so. What more do you want? Some of us knew your own people better than you did. After a short interruption a louder Germany took up your cry through the mouth of Dr. Frank in Goering's newspaper: "Now only this one thing counts. Who is stronger? . . . Anyone who does not admit this is merely a pale theoretician."

The *crescendo* is as marked in their claims as in their preparations. The voice that proclaimed expansion on a coaching hand-megaphone roared world-domination into a gigantic loud-speaker. From being the best, Germans became the only people, just as a beginning, a mere beginning. "And all the people said Amen." The Pangermans are already antediluvian. Theirs were but the giant days before the flood of 1939. What German now wants only to annex Germans, even if they are stretched and multiplied by fantastic ethno-

graphy to cover and corner Europe? Why not have Asia and Africa too? Open your mouth wider, people of Germany, and shut your eyes more tightly, and see what will fall into your lap. A ball, a little hard ball, the earth. How small it is, after all! Even Hitler "is surpassed"—surpasses *himself*. "We don't want Czechs." No, you want the Americas too now, and you mean to have them. "Every nation desires to enlarge its possessions as far as possible, and as far as possible *to incorporate the entire human family into itself*. That is a tendency which it has received from God." *Excusez du peu*. What has God's name *not* had to put up with from Germans! Read this book and see. It is of no use to tell "great" Fichte to speak for himself and his own people. He had been mouldering in his grave for a hundred and twenty-five years in 1939, but his soul was marching on to Fulfilment. At the centenary of his death the boa constrictor tried to "incorporate" Belgium. Now the Nazi monster is trying "to incorporate into itself" not one but fourteen countries. *Crescendo—fortissimo*. "That is a tendency which it has received from God", the German God, not ours, nor the God of anybody but brutes.

Our ancestors were perhaps wiser in their generation than the inter-war world. There are at least signs of their feeling that Germans *were* only beginning, that the rot of Fichte might not be stopped. As a boy I remember finding in an already ancient *Punch* of 1870 this legitimate and prophetic crack at Arndt:

What is the German Fatherland?
Now, children, take your maps in hand,
And see if you can tell me what
The German Fatherland is *not*.

Alas, the inter-war carousers forgot all this in a rush of Lethe water to the head. How strong it is! We shall have to dilute it with a little wine, lest once more our pilots, in their somnolent vigil, run us all on the German rock of ages.

I have accompanied you for the first half-dozen stages of the journey. I wish that I could accompany you through *every* stage, but the accompaniment would be another book. And you do not need my company. Go on by yourselves, but go carefully. Every yard of the voyage will repay you with new light. "More light," murmured the dying Goethe. That is what we need, even if it is lurid. You will not enjoy the voyage—but there are better things than enjoyment—for you will be sailing a shoreless and stormy sink,

or feeling your way through dense growths, whence at any moment a tiger may spring upon you. You will not again be surprised. It is always the same tiger, with longer teeth and louder roar. If you had been armed and in good company and a good howdah, you might have smiled to see the silly brute stalking the whole world, and losing its snarling soul without even noticing it. But you cannot smile. I have just returned from the funeral of friends—man, woman and child—blown to bits by German idealism. I have listened to the sad service, and I know that "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes"; but even He cannot wipe away ours. That is the German sin—to have been steadfastly disposed to overpower the Author of Mercy, the international God. The sin was national and logical. What else but clement could the God of many peoples be?

Before bidding you fare well—and you will fare better when you have completed the voyage round the German mind—I would direct your special attention to the section on the British Empire (pp. 160–187). There you will find set forth briefly what Germans in the plural really think and feel about you, and what they have always intended to do to you, could they get a hold over this island. All that the Nazis have done is to heat still more strongly the instincts of the *massacreur*. *Crescendo*, always *crescendo*, in evil, till you come to the homicidal ravings of Herr Vierordt (p. 157). This in Germany is a poet! But Germans are so habitually violent in their language that they do not even perceive the verbal extremities that sting them to violence of temper and atrocity of action. Were we in the power of the German butcher-bird, the policy of extermination pursued in Poland and Jugoslavia would be child's play compared with the horrors that would be perpetrated in our towns and shires. "We will bring to England a revolution of blood and tears which as a punishment will reduce the British population to degradation and poverty." The plan is, in fact, to reduce our population to one-half by a combination of massacre and deportation. Germans in the plural say that in 1941. Reverse those last two figures, and the foaming fury is still the same in 1914. Then as now we were in their way toward world-domination and the destruction of liberty. If you are "chosen", anyone who gets in your way always *is* a criminal. We were, and are, more in the way than the French and Russians, and so we got, and get, more Hate. You will see the whole true soul of the vast German majority in the famous Hymn of Hate, to which in the original I still take off my hat as a poetical achievement.

It reached its heights, or depths, just because "the words of Lissauer's *Hymn of Hate* were spoken out of the innermost depths of every German soul". (Do not be misled because Lissauer, a Jew, afterwards repented—as well he might, poor devil.) I knew as well as the Germans where the hate came from, and therefore I also took off my hat to the lyric masterpiece as a welcome indiscretion, when it first appeared. Surely, I thought, so good and revealing a poem will not be forgotten. I had reckoned without the commercialisation of Lethe water. I had reckoned without the array of goats who, in letter and article and speech, butted into international affairs during an era of sheepish governance. They pulled the mohair over your eyes. They forgot, they probably did not know, they certainly did not let *you* know, the virulence that even Stresemann had mouthed and dreamed—full-blown annexation and a Carthaginian peace for England, obliteration for England. And again remember that this was a moderate German and that he won a Nobel Peace Prize! Yes, he changed his tone and tactics after defeat. "It is easier to catch flies with honey than with vinegar." And again men were caught, and again they are dying, like flies. How long, O Lord, seeing that not only Stresemann but Hindenburg, Reventlow, Harnack, ton upon ton of Hunnish professor and publicist and pastor—here are the samples—had told you quite clearly what to expect. Remember too that all this latent and blatant loathing of England burst out, came into its own, came into the light, because the German invasion of Belgium brought us, of necessity and honour, into the war—and ah, how nearly did not even that outrage suffice! Forthwith the huge German Faculty of Self-Deception was mobilised: England must be in the war for commercial jealousy. The German *people* believed this eagerly. The roaring furnace of its heart was stoked up. Down with England, "the cowardly old water-snake". This was "a Holy War" to make Huns masters of the Universe. All this was there in black and white and red, had *always* been there. Not even the most hopeful Hun had expected that our School of Advanced Flying in the Face of Experience would carry no observers, that *our* professors and publicists and pastors should still be fumbling with political Braille. After reading this book I doubt whether you will wish to hear much more from goats.

Yet they are still butting at those who tell you the truth. The tups and wethers pursue me with their tinkling monotonies. At

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present their game is to pretend that we are at war with the Nazis but not with the Germans. You can see the calculation behind the gambit: it lets them out of the charge of having been fooled by the Germans, of having ignored all this long literature of ambition and cunning. They accuse me of indicting the German nation. I do. And I shall shortly present an unanswerable case for so doing. The part that is not indictable is still inconsiderable, whatever it may become, whatever we may *make* it, in our children's time. Here is what the German nation has preached, here is what it has practised. There is no flaw in the chain of evidence. A nation stands convicted by the words of its mouth and the works of its hands. All? Alas, all that has mattered to its fellows. Junkers? Of course. Heavy industrialists? Naturally. Soldiers and sailors? They go without saying—a volley of bullet-heads. But the German People's Party? Well, well. But Liberals? They have meant little, and counted less, in Germany. But Democrats? Well, rub your eyes. But Social Democrats? Rub them harder. There are many eyes in this country that need rubbing, and some noses too. The world is at war with the German nation. Believe no less, lest you suffer more.

The German nation has “called for madder music and for stronger wine” *crescendo* through the ages. It is become the dipsomaniac of Power. Yet one can still read this sort of thing—by a Mr. Ballard in the *Tribune*. “The meeting was most stimulating; here was the *real* Germany. We listened to the music of Beethoven, recitations from the German poets, and songs of Eisler. . . . We left the meeting with a feeling that whatever Churchill and Vansittart may say about the Germans . . .” Stop, Mr. Ballard, and see what Herr Professor Lenard, another Nobel Prize Winner, wrote of England in 1914: “Only an England thoroughly altered, improved, bettered and then matured and ripened for pacific co-operation in every domain—only such an England, or else one destroyed, will permit the nations of the world to proceed in peace to their advancement.” Why, that is exactly what I have always said of Germany (though, unlike Herr Professor Lenard, I prefer regeneration to destruction); and “the nations of the world” now know to their cost that I, and not Herr Professor Lenard, was right. “The nations of the world” now also know only too well that you and yours are not only wrong but ridiculous if you believe that your jolly meeting has anything whatever to do with the real Germany, the acting Germany. That

delusion is one of the reasons why we are where we are, and why so many are no more.

In conclusion be it said that neither have the authors builded their monument of learning, nor have I inscribed it, for the pleasure of pillorying Germany. We have a higher motive than pleasure. A great effort is being made to obscure the real issue of this war. The menace to be faced is *not* Nazism but Militarism, the Germany that has been and is still, though not necessarily the Germany to be. But, until we have actually *got* that new Germany, we will not desist, in the teeth of all libel and misrepresentation, from driving home the truth, which the people of the world have never yet had in its amplitude. If there is any further flinching from it, there is not a monkey's chance of a better world. Militarism and *crescendo*, here on a plate are the two keys to the awful story of Germany. *Hinc illae lacrimae*. If we can help God, however humbly, to keep *those* tears in future from the eyes of men, we shall not have laboured and fought in vain.

LONDON, *June* 1941.

INTRODUCTION

A people is judged by its leader.

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE.

IT is not Germany as she is known to the West that Eastern Europe has had to face for the past ten centuries. To Western Europe, until the middle of the nineteenth century, Germany was merely an agglomeration of small States competing among themselves and free from any imperialistic tendencies; moreover, it was the country of Dürer, Goethe, Lessing, Herder, Kant, Schiller and Beethoven.

The eastern face of Germany was entirely different. From the beginning of the ninth century, when, under the pressure of Charlemagne, German expansion was stimulated to move eastward, the Eastern Germans were always in conflict with the Slavs, a race weaker than themselves and poorly organised, and began to carve their way with fire and sword towards a new *Lebensraum*. Within a few centuries they had conquered the great expanse of land between the Elbe and the Oder, the cradle of Eastern Germany, and the Slavonic population of that area was reduced to a mere handful, submerged under the German masses. Very few Western Europeans have any idea that the districts where Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig and Lübeck now stand were at one time populated entirely by Slavs. The Germans, however, are fully aware of that fact, and German writers frequently mention the conquest of the territory between the Elbe and the Oder in order to strengthen the confidence of modern Germans in the possibility of further ruthless conquests of new *Lebensraum*, which for the vanquished would be tantamount to *Todesraum*.

After absorbing the territories which to-day constitute Brandenburg and Mecklenburg, and also part of Saxony and Austria, the Eastern Germans came to the conclusion that the surest and quickest method of extending their empire was brute-force. Thus the mystic cult of force began to take possession of the German mind, and in the course of time its compelling power almost eliminated all other conceptions of social ethics in German thought. In the name of force the Slavs were

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driven east of the Oder, toward the Vistula. A new *Lebensraum* was created on the ruins of Slavonic settlements. In the name of this same force also the Order of Teutonic Knights settled during the thirteenth century in the area known to-day as East Prussia, annihilating the Prussian people, a race closely related to the Lithuanians, and went going so far as to filch the name of Prussians. This name was adopted also by the Eastern Germans who settled on land soaked with the blood and tears of the Slavs. The Prussian spirit came to be a synonym for the hegemony of brute-force, regarded in turn as the chief criterion of human activity.

Through the efforts of the Hohenzollerns the territories east of the Elbe taken from the Slavs, and the lands between the Vistula and the Niemen, the home of the original Prussian race, were gradually united under the title of the Kingdom of Prussia, and this kingdom adopted all the moral and political traditions of the Eastern Germans. After its eastward expansion this State began to wield an ever-increasing influence in Germany proper. With this extension of Prussian influence the Prussian spirit began to permeate the whole of the German nation. The face of Germany as the West knew it was gradually obliterated, while the ideals of the Eastern Germans achieved complete domination.

These changes, which took place during the nineteenth century, were disregarded by the rest of Europe. The extension of the Prussian spirit was markedly encouraged by two factors. The Germans had a high birth-rate, which continued to rise until comparatively recent years, and began to decline only immediately prior to the 1914-1918 war. And German industries had a very dynamic development, with a consequent political influence upon German imperialism which can hardly be overrated. In the eyes of the nineteenth-century Germans Prussia, covered with the glory of her Eastern conquests and impressing public opinion with her ruthless conceptions of Germanic expansion at the expense of other nations, was the one State capable of uniting Germany and establishing German hegemony over the world. The fall of the 'Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation' in 1806 hastened the bankruptcy of the Latin and Christian traditions before German public opinion. When Prussianism succeeded that empire as a dominating factor in German life, all the moral ideals represented by those traditions had to yield place to one predominant concept: the use of force to promote the might of a united Germany.

The new Germany organised under the leadership of Prussia was called simply the German Reich. Note the characteristic fact that this new Germany which the Prussians had brought to unity had no longer any inclination to make use either the name 'Roman', which would have implied Latin traditions, or the name 'Holy', which was a superfluous symbol of Christian traditions. The new Germany quite deliberately had no desire to be either Roman or Holy, only Prussian. The Second Reich, which dates its existence from 1871, was, however, unable to put the Prussian ideology fully into practice; that was to be achieved only by the Third Reich.

In 1914 Prussianism set out to conquer the world. The Eastern Germans' successes in their violent conquest of *Lebensraum* in the East were an encouragement to the whole of the Reich to employ force in a fight for the hegemony of Europe. When this gigantic attempt failed, the Germans hurried to place the entire responsibility on their leader, Wilhelm II. Europe accepted the story that the Germans had not wanted to go to war, but that war had been thrust upon them by the Emperor and the clique around him. One point had been overlooked: before Wilhelm II there had been a Bismarck, and before Bismarck there had been a Frederick the Great, and Frederick had been preceded by an endless line of Eastern German leaders of the same type. Another point was overlooked also: all these men had enjoyed the full support of their people, a blindly loyal people which had wielded the sword in order to execute their orders. But the period of deception was not to last long. The sceptre which dropped from the hands of Wilhelm II was taken up in turn by Hitler, who, it must not be forgotten, was given 13,732,777 votes out of the total of 35,863,098 cast in the Reichstag elections of 31 July 1932. And at that time the elections were still free. Seven years later the Germans once more began a war for hegemony, plunging all Europe into a sea of blood and tears.

And now once more, as in the days of the second Reich, men of good faith would like to differentiate between Hitler and the German nation, and to absolve the latter of responsibility for the tragedy through which we are passing to-day.

It is sometimes said to-day that the average German does not want this war, which was forced upon him by Hitler. It must be borne in mind, however, that among the mass of average Germans upon whom Wilhelm II "forced" war in 1914, was a soldier, Adolf Hitler, who, speaking of himself on 10 December 1940, rightly said:

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"Before the World War I was a completely unknown man, and during the War I was quite an insignificant soldier." Who can say with certainty that there is not to-day, among the mass of contemporary average Germans, and especially among contemporary German youth, another "completely unknown man and insignificant soldier" who in the next generation will "force" Germany into a third war?

In their own interests and those of their children, people who reason thus should ask themselves whether their hypothesis of 1918 still holds good; whether it is a fact that the German nation was really opposed to Wilhelm II and is opposed to Hitler to-day. For otherwise at some future day Europe may find herself bathed in blood and covered with ruins for yet a third time through having to resist the attempts of a new Reich, under a new Leader, to conquer the world. Between 1914 and 1918 the Germans more than once came very close to victory; in this war they have achieved almost complete hegemony on the Continent, and who knows whether in the event of a third war they might not come out victorious?

After the events of 1914 and 1940 an exceptionally heavy responsibility for the future rests on the present generation, and it should make it its business to ascertain whether the German nation is or is not to blame for what occurred in those two years.

Let the Germans provide their own answer to this question. Listen to the words of Frederick the Great and Bismarck, of Wilhelm II and Hitler, the Reich of Stresemann and the Reich of the Nazis; listen to the words of politicians, generals, and historians, of lawyers and journalists, of those who have moulded public opinion and have educated German youth. The reader can then judge for himself. He will soon realise that as a nation the Germans are not like other European peoples. They have a character peculiarly their own. Subject to continual petty worries, unstable by nature, regarding themselves as a chosen nation which other peoples are destined to serve, utterly ruthless, insincere, delighting in brute-force, ready to resign their own personal freedom in order to rob other nations of theirs with all the greater ease—heedless of all man-made and God-made laws, the Germans are in fundamental contrast to the peoples of civilised and Christian Europe.

Adolf Hitler and the Nazis finally laid bare the true aspect of the German soul, which to-day is more reminiscent than ever of the ghoulish heroes of Germanic mythology. Hitler did not create this soul, for it would be impossible for any one man within a few brief

years to fashion the soul of a nation out of nothing. The conceptions, principles and plans at the base of National Socialism are but a new and ampler expression of the German soul. Nazism came as a surprise only to those who were completely unacquainted with German thought in the past, or, having studied it, were unwilling or unable to believe their own eyes.

The Germans of the Nibelungen legends, the Eastern Germans of medieval times who put the Slavonic peoples east of the Elbe to fire and sword and created the province of Brandenburg out of the land which they had reduced to an enormous graveyard, the Teutonic Knights, the Germans of the Sack of Rome, of Frederick the Great, of Bismarck, of Wilhelm II and Stresemann—these are the true ancestors of the Third Reich. Let them speak for themselves!

In the main body of this book the editors seldom interpose their own opinions. From beginning to end the words are those of Germans themselves. The excerpts open with quotations from Frederick the Great, for, although he himself followed the example of his predecessors, the modern Germans, Bismarck, Stresemann, Hitler, all derived their inspiration from 'the Great Frederick'.

Leaders of the Weimar Republic are by no means omitted, for it, too, was dominated by the same spirit, though that spirit was concealed behind ostensibly pacifistic and conciliatory tendencies. The German reptile is quite ready to crawl when it thinks itself threatened. Did not Frederick the Great write to his Minister Podewils: 'If there is anything to gain by being honest men, we shall be honest men; and if it is necessary to cheat, we shall be cheats'?

Again and again we come upon the one *Leitmotiv*: Pangermanism.

The Nazi revolution is no more than the fruition of inherited conceptions which find expression in varying forms in the works of Fichte, Hegel, Dietrich von Bülow, Arndt, Jahn, Friedrich List, Friedrich Ratzel, Karl Lamprecht, Prince Bismarck, Treitschke, Langbehn, Konstantin Frantz, Ludwig Woltmann, Josef Ludwig Reimer, Albrecht Wirth, Friedrich Lange, Albert Ballin, Hugo von Stinnes, Kardorff, Thyssen, and hundreds of others. In their speeches and writings these men elaborated many conceptions which are to-day part of National Socialism, such as the racial theory, the lust for world hegemony, the *Herrenvolk* thesis, the fight against Anglo-Saxon influences, the desire to create an essentially German religion, the ethic of ruthlessness and cruelty, the right of the superior German race to *Lebensraum* ("Living-space"), the principle of exterminating

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the native populations of conquered territories and colonising them with Germans. All this is nineteenth or early twentieth-century German ideology.

Thus, the contention that Nazism is the embodiment of a new "spirit of domination" is just as inaccurate as it would be to maintain that "Pangermanism" goes back only to Bismarck's time, and not to that of his predecessors.

German views on all these questions differed, of course, on points of detail from one period to another; in the nineteenth century Bötticher yearned for the German frontiers to extend from the Argonne to the Black Sea, while Treitschke had other views as to German boundaries; Frantz and Bismarck were federalists, while Treitschke was an advocate of unity and centralisation. Some were Francophobes first and foremost, while others hated most the British or the Russians. But one group of conceptions was to be found in the works of them all: the Teutonic tradition embodied in Prussian militarism, the nostalgia for the "Holy Empire on which the sun never sets", the memory of the Hanseatic League which originally gave birth to the German desire to rule the seas and to govern world trade.

And every one of these advocates of Pangermanic conceptions prayed for a man of superhuman will and strength to arise who would be able to give these dreams reality. In his work *Germanien und Europa*, the notorious Pangermanist Ernst Moritz Arndt wrote in 1802 that Germany, then vacillating between Prussia and Austria, ought to be moulded into one whole, and that this could be achieved if a Deliverer were to be found, "a great tyrant and military genius who would conquer and exterminate nations" (*erobernd und verderbend*). Hitler is this Messiah, Arndt's dream given its practical fulfilment 140 years later.

Let us compare two texts—one of 1910 and the other of 1940. In spite of the difference of thirty years both of them come to the same conclusion, i.e. that behind the foreign policy of Germany there stood the whole German nation. In November 1910 Philip Kerr (late Lord Lothian) wrote in the *Round Table* as follows: ¹

"The Emperor William, in spite of his indiscretions, is the idol of Germany, because he represents exactly the genius and beliefs of the great mass of the German people." (P. 394.)

"It is only by realising that to Germany the interests of the

¹ Reprinted in the *Round Table*, March 1941.

Fatherland far transcend all other claims that one can understand the German character, and so the German policy. . . ." (P. 395.)

"This central idea of national efficiency—the parallel in Germany of the idea of personal liberty in the British Empire—is the key to their international policy. It explains how an intelligent and advanced people can tolerate the inquisitorial tyranny of the police, the unmeasured powers of the bureaucracy, the sacrifice involved in a conscriptive system. . . .

"It is simply an overwhelming sense that the welfare of the State must at all costs be made to prevail over the welfare of the individual." (P. 396.)

"It was Bismarck—the incarnation of the Prussian spirit—the successor of Frederick the Great—who created the German Empire, and, as we shall see, it is Bismarck's policy which is still the foreign policy of Germany." (P. 398.)

"Like all true Germans, like the German Emperor to-day, Bismarck was anxious 'solely and alone' for the good of the Fatherland. Beyond the orbit of national existence Bismarck recognised neither right nor justice. International law was a figment invented by weaker nations to protect themselves, and was to be respected or ignored as expediency required. As he himself expressed it—the destinies of Germany were to be worked out not by speeches or resolutions, but by sword and iron." (P. 399.)

"Bismarck's work is complete. The German Empire is in a position to play in Europe and the world to-day the part that Prussia played in Germany forty years ago. The present German foreign policy is the policy of Bismarck brought up to date." (P. 400.)

"The Bismarckian ideal has dominated the foreign policy of Germany as conducted by the bureaucracy he created. It has also permeated the whole nation, so that to-day it is the unalterable conviction, deep in the hearts of the people, that it is their destiny to become the First Power of the world." (P. 407.)

"This burning faith in themselves and the ideals of Germanism explains the aggressive foreign policy of Germany, and the anxiety with which she views the growth of other nations. It explains, too, why their triumph in Europe cannot satisfy them, and why they believe a Policy involving world domination to be essential to their future." (P. 407.)

"Nobody has ever described the inevitable result of the policy to which Germany has committed herself better than the great

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Treitschke, the national historian of Germany: 'If our Empire has the courage to follow an independent colonial policy with determination, a collision of our interests and those of England is unavoidable. It was natural and logical that the new Great Power of Central Europe had to settle affairs with all Great Powers. We have settled our accounts with Austria-Hungary, with France, with Russia. The last settlement, the settlement with England, will probably be the lengthiest and the most difficult.' (P. 409.)

"Unfortunately, Treitschke's doctrine is the belief of the mass of the German people. The essential fact is that an overwhelming majority of Germans regard war with England as inevitable. Germanism, they say, must and will prevail, for it is the most vital and the most self-sacrificing of the forces of the day." (P. 409.)

"Others (in England) believe that the aggressive policy of Germany, which no one denies, is the policy of the bureaucracy and the military caste only, and that the German people, growing restive under that tyranny, will shortly refuse to be a party to the extravagant policy of aggrandisement." (P. 416.)

"There is little doubt that the German people are far from reversing the national policy of their Government." (P. 418.)

"The Germans will never surrender Germanism, for they are determined to stand beside the Greeks and the Romans, and perhaps the Anglo-Saxons in their palmy days, as one of the peoples who have wrought their mark on the history of all time." (P. 419.)

This which was written in 1910 by Philip Kerr, who based his opinions on his profound knowledge of international politics, we find repeated in other words and other circumstances by one of the outstanding experts on contemporary European history, E. L. Woodward, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, who has very pertinently grasped the profound causes of the present war: ¹

"The world, and particularly the English-speaking world, has been too ready to assume that National Socialism is a freakish thing, an accident of personalities, a sudden new turn in German history; that the views held and put into practice by Hitler, Goering, and their unpleasant company are views which do not reach back into the German past. It has also been suggested that Hitlerism is a special and peculiar reaction, of a virulent pathological kind, to the

¹ E. L. Woodward, *The Origins of the War*, Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 41, 1940.

harsh treatment of Germany after the War of 1914-1918, and to the exceptional sufferings of Germans during the period of currency inflation and again during the economic crisis which began at the end of 1929. . . .

"The rise of Hitlerism was not due to the Treaty of Versailles, but to the military defeat of Germany. After the last war opinion in Great Britain and the United States, and, to a lesser extent, in France, assumed that the fall of the Imperial régime implied a complete change of heart among Germans, and that, henceforward, militarism was broken in Germany, and the Germans would never allow this militarism to be revived. The history of the Weimar Republic shows that these hypotheses were, unfortunately, wrong. From the outset there was no fundamental change of view among the people as a whole, and, above all, among the bureaucracy of the governing class, in a country inclined by habit of mind and long usage to follow the lead and accept the views dictated by authority.

"There was, in fact, no real revolution in Germany, in the sense that there had been a real revolution in France in the years following 1789, or in Russia after 1917. The republican leaders in the early days leaned upon the army to protect them from the small group of men who wanted real revolution. These leaders were Germans, trained to German ways of thought, brought up in a German tradition. In this tradition not war, but defeat in war, was 'evil'. The 'dictated' Treaty of Versailles was an outrage, not because the treaty was 'dictated'—no German was foolish enough to suppose that a victorious Germany would have argued about peace terms with a defeated Great Britain and France—but because the dictators were not Germans, and the dictation ended German rule over peoples who did not want this rule, and destroyed German dreams of continental, and, perhaps, world hegemony.

"Germans of all parties aimed at 'breaking the bonds of Versailles'. The dividing-line came between those who looked to direct military action and a war of revenge, and those who hoped for the recovery of the old dominant position of Germany through a policy of 'fulfilment' of the treaty. The former party advocated defiance, the latter a temporary submission, combined with an attempt to prove to the victors that many clauses in the treaty were unworkable, or pressed unfairly upon German economic life, or—a less reputable plea—offended German pride and made it impossible for Germany to assert her armed strength. . . .

"... Those who resisted the methods of the extremists were never wholly out of sympathy, and often very much in sympathy with the extremists' aims. The argument was one about means rather than about ends. . . .

"... The active or passive acquiescence of vast numbers of Germans in National Socialism, the easy submission of all save a small and brave minority, are facts of deep historical significance. An attempt to explain these facts by talk about the 'docility' of the German people is at best only half an explanation, and at worst tautology. The Germans acquiesced in National Socialism because they could understand it. They could understand it because its appeal was typically and thoroughly German. They could understand it the more because it was expressed to them in crude and violent language, and embodied in a group of crude and violent men who represented, in an extravagant way, qualities of temper and a mental outlook firmly rooted in the German nation. This point has not been readily understood in Great Britain and the United States. Among the English-speaking nations Hitler and Goering have been recognised easily as pathological types, displaying their abnormality in every act, word and gesture of their lives. To Germans Hitler is a heaven-born hero, and Goering an admirable and 'jolly' kind of man.

"National Socialism has nothing original about it, unless a semi-lunatic exaggeration and pedantry can be taken as marks of originality. There is no single item in *Mein Kampf*, or in the glosses upon *Mein Kampf*, which has not a long history in Germany. Anti-Semitism (well described as 'socialism for fools') was a feature in German politics long before anyone had heard of Adolf Hitler. The programme of National Socialism, taken as a whole, had advocates in Germany and German Austria long before Adolf Hitler. Even the fact that this programme has undergone many fluctuations does not give it novelty. The plain and sinister fact about National Socialism is indeed its lack of originality. Hitler's appeal to the German masses would have been far less attractive if this appeal had been new and original.

"The matter can be summed up in a few words. For a long period of time, extending over many centuries, Western thought has been developing on lines which, without attaching to them to-day any special party or denominational significance, can be described as both liberal and Christian. This development of

thought has been humanitarian and optimistic. Humanitarian in the sense that the starting-point of Western thinkers, in Great Britain, in the United States, and in France, has been the absolute value of the individual, and hence the equal rights of all individuals. The high problems of law and government and economics have thus become centred upon giving to the individual full opportunities for the development of his personality. . . . For more than a hundred years, and in some respects for a much longer time, certain dominant tendencies of German intellectual life have been hostile to this liberal and Christian way of thought. Long before Hitler, popular writers in Germany had derided Western humanitarianism, denied the very conditions under which Western thinkers regarded improvement as possible, and described as mere foolishness the moral ideals which the majority of English, French and American writers had taken for granted. The worship of power, a contempt for mercy and gentleness, the sacrifice of the individual to the State, a belief in war as the highest and most ennobling form of human activity, these were the lessons taught to the younger generation in Germany, not merely by the Hitler Youth Movement, but by school teachers in the years before the last war. Moreover, this reversion to an earlier barbarism was accompanied by a strong belief that the Germans were a race with a mission to enforce their view of life upon other peoples. It followed that, in order to further the increase of German power, every German must subordinate his existence to the German institutions of State, and that, in order to increase the power of this State, all means were justified. These beliefs have been set out and repeated by some of the most honoured names in Germany; they have been adopted with enthusiasm by an active minority, embodied in the German educational system, until several generations in turn have been infected by them and, in our time, the youth of a whole nation holds these and no other beliefs.

"Hitler is thus the creature, not the creator, of a German nationalism which justifies every bestiality, every act of bad faith practised in the interests of the increase of the power of the German State. Hitler, Goering, and their like have been admired and followed because they spell out in staring letters a theme which less forceful and less vociferous Germans had adopted for themselves.

". . . The grim fact remains that the majority of the German

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people, and the majority of their leaders have accepted a philosophy which, to us, is a philosophy of darkness.

“ . . . We are fighting against a nation of many millions, strongly compact, brave, crafty, and bound in Dervish-like submission to an opposite way of life. As long as they accept this submission, our good is their evil, and our evil is their good.”

* * *

We should like to draw the attention of the reader to certain difficulties with which we had to cope while compiling this book. We could not, for obvious reasons, consult German libraries, with their wealth of literature on Pangermanism, considerably exceeding the number given in our bibliography.

When—after the war—German libraries are once more made accessible to foreigners, it will be possible to expand each chapter of our book into a volume. We sincerely hope that this may be done, so that the post-war world may gain a full knowledge of the German political mind.

LONDON, *June* 1941.

CHAPTER ONE

THE GERMAN *WELTANSCHAUUNG* THE CULT OF FORCE SUBORDINATION TO FORCE OF RELIGION, MORALITY, AND LAW

A PROPHECY OF 1834

The philosopher of Nature will be terrible because he will appear in alliance with the primitive powers of Nature, able to evoke the demoniac energies of old Germanic Pantheism—doing which there will awake in him that battle-madness which we find among the ancient Teutonic races who fought neither to kill nor to conquer but for the very love of fighting itself. It is the fairest merit of Christianity that it somewhat mitigated that brutal German gaudium certaminis or joy in battle, but it could not destroy it. And should that subduing talisman, the Cross, break, then will come crashing and roaring forth the wild madness of the old champions, the insane Berserker rage, of which the Northern poets say and sing. That talisman is brittle, and the day will come when it will pitifully break. The old stone gods will rise from long-forgotten ruin and rub the dust of a thousand years from their eyes, and Thor, leaping to life with his giant hammer, will crush the Gothic cathedrals!

HEINRICH HEINE, *Works*, trans. Charles
Godfrey Leland, New York, Dutton,
1906, Vol. v, pp. 207 f.

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Section I

OUTLOOK ON RELIGION.

PAGANISM.

GERMAN MORALITY THE ANTITHESIS OF CHRISTIAN MORALITY

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century German thought has toiled continuously and more and more intensively, as the German Reich increased in strength, to prepare the German nation psychologically for a forthcoming struggle to gain European and world hegemony. But from the beginning it came up against one great barrier: the Christian ethic. The basic principles of that ethic, which is accepted in Germany as it is in all the countries with a European civilisation, were founded on the conception of goodwill to others ("Love thy neighbour as thyself"), a conception knowing no linguistic, racial, or national frontiers. The German intellectual world, which came to hold more and more firmly and solidly the view that every means is good if it conduces to Germany's domination over other nations, was faced with the tragic problem of reconciling the struggle for a Greater Germany based on the apotheosis of German might, with the Christian love of one's neighbour.

This problem was resolved by Hitlerism, which in practice rejected the principles of Christianity, in order to free Germany from the moral bonds hindering the unscrupulous application of brute force for the benefit of the German nation. But this solution was gradually finding formulation even before the days of Hitlerism. At times German thought recoiled before too bold and sincere an enunciation of its position, and then it took the still more cynical road of pretending that everything which was for the good of Germany was also for the good of Christianity. Christianity thus conceived of was voided of all its content, and became an empty tradition, harnessed to the chariot of German hegemony. Such a 'Germanised' Christianity was bound to lead to such manifestations as the statement made during the 1914-1918 war by a

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Catholic priest, who was also a Deputy of the Reichstag, that the murder of women and children in France and Belgium was in no way contradictory to the tenets of Christianity. The logical consequence of this attitude was the ascription of a German origin to Jesus himself. Similar conceptions are to be found in Nazi literature also.

Other Germans were more sincere with themselves and, recognising that German philosophy was organically irreconcilable with Christian doctrine, had the courage to reject Christianity and to appeal to ethically fitting traditions, to the bloodstained legends of German paganism. Nazism did not invent neo-paganism, but simply accepted the fruits of the philosophic meditations of previous generations of Germans. The reasons for this negative attitude to Christianity were most precisely formulated by General Von Ludendorff: "I reject Christianity, because it is international, and because, in cowardly fashion, it preaches peace on earth." Naturally, anyone who does not want peace on earth must reject the ethic by which the nations of the European civilisation have lived for almost two thousand years. The further consequence was the tendency to deify the Führer of the German Nation, a tendency such as Europe had not known since the days of the Roman Emperors.

Contemporary Germany's rejection of traditional European morality is worthy of our closest attention, since it indicates the abyss separating the Germans from other white races. Germans capable of such utterances as we have just quoted are more alien to Europe than are many non-Christian nations. That is why it is so difficult for Europe to understand them, and why there were so many errors in the political evaluation of Germany from 1918 to 1939.

No less deserving of attention is the fact that all the German youth to-day is being educated in principles diametrically opposed to the traditional morality which is the basis of youth education in other countries. The Nazi organisation concerned with education stuffs the youth from childhood up with this same cult of a myth, and this same contempt for love of one's neighbour, which form the basis of the entire Nazi movement. It must be remembered that these very youngsters who are being educated under the direction of the Hitlerjugend will within twenty years be the governing generation in Germany. The danger to Europe of a country whose governors are poisoned in their youth with the Nazi doctrines is obvious.

BUT Christ allowed himself to be humiliated by his mortal enemies, to be spat upon in the face, beaten, tortured and finally nailed on the cross, patiently submitted to the most dishonourable death known in the ancient world, without defending himself! Such almost superhuman, to us almost inconceivable self-conquest, which to us Germans of to-day must seem self-emasculation, would be tantamount to the death of the German spirit and would be unacceptable to Germans. . . . we do not need a symbol of gentleness, but rather a symbol calling us to war, to defence; and I know of no better symbol than that of our Teutonic divinity Thor: the Hammer!

Heimdall,¹ 1898, pp. 123-4.

CHRIST could have regarded love of one's enemy and of all mankind as right and practicable only among well-disposed humanity. But the one and only race of men that is well-disposed from youth are the Germans or Aryans, and they alone are capable of making Christ's 'evangel' into a reality.

Heimdall, 1899, p. 35.

PAUL . . . a hunchbacked, crafty Hebrew from Tarsus. . . . Subsequent Christianity, or rather clericalism, owed its hypocritical character entirely to this Hebrew impostor.

Heimdall, 1899, p. 130.

CHRIST could not have desired an 'international Christianity', and he probably did not preach that his gospel should be taught to all the peoples; he knew only too well . . . that only Aryans, only Germans are capable of being true Christians.

Heimdall, 1899, p. 130.

BUT if a stranger beats or insults you (your neighbour or your nation), then slay him, for he has smitten the divine spirit and is guilty unto death.

Heimdall, 1902, p. 142.

¹ This periodical, associated with the Pangerman (*allddeutsch*) movement, represented in 1905 the following German organisations:

"Alld deutscher Sprach- und Schriftverein" (Pangerman Language and Writers' Union); "Allgemeiner Deutscher Schriftverein" (Central German Writers' Union); "Germanenbund-Walhall" (Germanic League "Walhalla"), Danzig; "Jung-deutscher Bund" (Young-German League), Hamburg; "Deutschvölkischer Austausch" (German People's Exchange), Cassel; and "Deutsch-Völkischer Bund" (German People's League), Cassel.

OUTLOOK ON RELIGION

WHO would deny that there still is to-day a Teutonic Christian God?

¹ KARL LAMPRECHT. Bibl. VIII, B. 52, Vol. ii,
p. 484.

THE German people united in spirit and patriotic sentiment will be the rock upon which our Lord will be able to build and complete the work of civilisation which He desires in the world.

KAISER WILHELM II, Speech in Bremen,
31 Aug. 1907.

To brand Jesus, that fighter full of Germanic daring, as a patient lamb, is a lie, a clerical blasphemy, an impudent distortion of a Siegfriedian image, of a Baldurian figure.

KLAUS WAGNER. 1906. Bibl. V, 202, p. 163.

THIS neighbourly love, developed in the bosom of the Church, has produced a really poisonous effect on German nationhood. The Church taught that every human being is our neighbour and every neighbour our brother (so that one day there shall be *one* flock and *one* shepherd on earth). It deliberately abolished the political demarcations between the nations. Its ideal is an international, undifferentiated, soft porridge of faithful people—an unhappy goal, murderous for every State.

P. NORDHEIM, from an article in *Volkserzieher*,²
no. 1, 1910.

JESUS, that noble, pure Aryan, in whose veins not a drop of Semitic blood flowed, will in the future free German Church, in our German Holy Writ, have a place of honour beside Baldur.

Heimdall, 1911, pp. 64-5.

NOBLE races serve God by conquests.

K. F. WOLFF, *Alldeutsche Blätter*,³ 1913, p. 283.

¹ Karl Lamprecht (1856-1915), historian; Professor at Marburg and Leipzig Universities; founder of the *Institut für Kultur-u.-Universalgeschichte* (Leipzig).

² The founder and chief editor of this important German periodical was Wilhelm Schwaner. In 1915 it was read by 8,000 schoolmasters, apart from a certain number of officials, physicians, and so on. In 1916 ten thousand copies of the paper were printed.

Schwaner wrote in No. 25 of *Volkserzieher* (1916) that his paper exercised an influence upon 8,000 schoolmasters and by their means on 400,000 German children, . . . "if we take fifty children for each teacher".

³ Official organ of the Pangerman League.

. . . the *Krist* (the orthography is 'racially pure') and Father Wotan get on well together! . . .

The *Krist* is Father Wotan's heart!

Volkerzieher, 1913, p. 47.

THE morality of love of your neighbour, which may be permitted between individuals, must not be tolerated between nations.

DR. ERNST HASSE.¹ Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 42.

. . . Arise, to arms!

All hesitation, all delay is treason to the country. It is a question of the life or death of our Empire, of the life or death of German Might.

We shall defend ourselves to the last breath and to the last man. Though a world of enemies come, we shall fight notwithstanding. When Germany has remained united, she has never been vanquished.

Forward with God, for God will be with us as He was with our fathers.

WILHELM II,² Proclamation to his People,
7 Aug. 1914. Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 111.

IT is true that our soldiers in France and Belgium have shot all the brigands, men, women, and children, and that they have destroyed their homes. But to see in that anything contrary to Christian teaching is to show that one has not the least understanding of the spirit of Christ.

A Catholic Priest and Reichstag Deputy, quoted
in *Vossische Zeitung*,³ 1914. Bibl. I, 39 (a),
p. 134.

MUST culture raise its temples upon mountains of corpses, upon seas of tears, upon the death-rattles of the dead . . .? Yes, it must.

PROF. AUGUST KAHN. Sept. 1914. Bibl. I,
39 (c), p. 16.

¹ Ernst Hasse (1846-1908), statistician and politician; Director of Statistical Department at Leipzig, 1875; in 1886 Professor of Statistics at Leipzig University. Co-founder and President of the *Alldeutsche Verband*. Devoted himself specially to national and colonial politics. National-Liberal member of the Reichstag.

² Wilhelm II (1859-1941), German Emperor, succeeded his father in 1888. Dismissed Bismarck in 1890. Paid special attention to the development of Germany's military and naval forces. Issued ultimatum to France, 2 August 1914. After the German defeat in 1918, fled to Holland, and abdicated.

³ Democratic newspaper (1704-1934).

OUTLOOK ON RELIGION

CULTURE is a spiritual organisation of the world which does not exclude 'bloody savagery'. It 'sublimifies the Demonic'. It is 'above morality, reason, science'.

THOMAS MANN,¹ *Neue Rundschau*, Nov. 1914.
Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 34.

OUR enemies must be made to feel German hatred and German retribution; they must be made to feel the divine arm of compensating justice.

We must believe that the German defensive power that avenges the cruelties of our enemies represents the will of God. Just as God has revealed himself in the German people, so He now reveals himself in the German Army.

ROBERT HEINZ HEYGRODT, "*Im deutschen Wald*,"
Volkserzieher, 1915, no. 10.

IF Jesus of Nazareth, who preached the love of enemies, were again among us in the flesh—nowhere would he rather be incarnate than in Germany—where do you think he would be found? Do you think he would be standing in a pulpit and saying angrily: 'You sinful Germans, love your enemies'? Certainly not. Instead, he would be right in front, in the first ranks of the sword-bearers who are fighting with implacable hatred. That is where he would be, and he would bless the bleeding hands and the death-dealing weapons, would perhaps himself grasp a sword of judgment and drive the enemies of the Germans farther and farther from the frontiers of the Promised Land, as he once drove the Jewish merchants and usurers out of the Temple.

R. H. HEYGRODT, *ibid.*, p. 75.

IT might come to pass that we succumb in this fight of righteousness and purity against falsehood and deceit. That could happen, I am sure, only over the dead body of the last German; but should it happen, I assert that we should all die happy in the consciousness of having defended God against the world.

PASTOR W. LEHMANN, *Vom deutschen Gott*, 1915.
Bibl. I, 6, pp. 79-80.

¹ Thomas Mann (1875-), novelist; former member of League of Nations Committee on Art and Literature. Doctor *honoris causa* of Bonn University, 1919; Nobel Prizewinner for Literature, 1929; Lecturer in the Humanities, Princeton University, U.S.A.

. . . The crazy idea of the Kingdom of Heaven and a united humanity.

Alldeutsche Blätter, 1917, p. 50.

I REJECT Christianity because it is Jewish, because it is international, and because, in cowardly fashion, it preaches Peace on Earth.

ERICH LUDENDORFF,¹ *Deutsche Gottglaube*.
Bibl. I, 48, p. 173.

CHRISTIANITY is emphatically an aristocratic creed, free of morals, unteachable. . . . They [Christians] constitute a secret league. Furthermore, the kind of love that operates in Christianity is that which illumines the pagan temples, and bears no relation to the Jewish invention of so-called love of mankind or love of one's neighbours.

HANS BLÜHER, *Die Aristie des Jesus von Nazareth* (1922). Bibl. I, 30, p. 74.

I THINK we are declining because we have followed Christ and because we have lost our German soul, and wanted to gain, or want to gain, a Christian one.

ERNST WIECHERT, *Totenzwolf*, 1924.
Bibl. I, 9, p. 486.

ALL German education must be based on the recognition of the fact that it is not Christianity that has brought us morality, but Christianity that owes its enduring values to the German character.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.² Bibl. V, 170, 4th ed., p. 623.

BUT to-day a *new* faith is awakening: the myth of the blood, the faith of defending with the blood the divine essence of man as well; the faith embodied in the clearest awareness that Nordic blood represents the mystery that has replaced and overcome the old sacraments.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, *ibid.*, p. 129.

¹ Erich Ludendorff (1865-1937), Prussian General of Infantry; Member of German General Staff, 1908-12. In 1914, Chief of the General Staff under Hindenburg. After the war of 1914, published (with his wife) the periodical *Am heiligen Quell deutscher Kraft*.

² Alfred Rosenberg (1893-), journalist and National-Socialist leader, born in Reval; architect in Riga; chief editor of *Völkischer Beobachter*, 1919-38; Leader of Foreign Policy department of National Socialist Party; Founder and Reich leader of the "Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur". One of the leading theorists of National Socialism.

OUTLOOK ON RELIGION

THE idea of honour—of national honour—becomes the beginning and end of all our thoughts and actions. It does not tolerate an equal force-centre of whatever kind side by side with it—neither Christian love, nor Freemasonic humanitarianism, nor the Roman philosophy.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, *ibid.*, p. 509.

GERMANY'S Second Empire was founded on the battlefields, was created by Bismarck; but it was *preserved* in the first place by Moltke's genius with its power of creating personality and types. . . .

Fritz's conception of honour, Moltke's disciplinary method and Bismarck's holy will—these are the three forces which, embodied in different combinations in different personalities, serve only one purpose: the honour of the German nation. That is the myth that must determine the type of the German of the future. Once this has been recognised, we must begin to shape it now.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, *ibid.*, pp. 513, 516.

THE opprobrious term 'barbarians' is raised against us like a club. . . .

The reproach of barbarism frightens us . . . no more than any thoughtlessness does.

FRIEDRICH SIEBURG.¹ Bibl. IX, 149, p. 81.

MAN is a *beast of prey*. I will say it again and again. All the paragons of virtue and social moralists who want to be or to get beyond this, are only beasts of prey with broken teeth who hate the others on account of the attacks which they prudently avoid.

OSWALD SPENGLER.² Bibl. VIII, A, 68. Part i, p. 144 (Germ. ed.).

THERE is in Germany a Catholic Bolshevism which is more dangerous than the anti-christian because it hides behind the mask of a religion.

Now, all communist systems in the West are in fact derived from Christian theological thought. . . .

Christian theology is the grandmother of Bolshevism.

OSWALD SPENGLER. Bibl. VIII, A, 68, pp. 128-9.

¹ Friedrich Sieburg (1893-), essayist, critic, and journalist; formerly London and Paris correspondent of *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

² Oswald Spengler (1880-), philosopher-historian; teacher at Hamburg High School, then free-lance writer in Berlin. Chief work, *The Decline of the West*, a metaphysical philosophy of history and culture.

THE God of Christendom has forsaken us Germans. He is no just God, no supranational God; he is a political Party God of the others. The cause of our defeat in the great struggle was that we had believed in him and abandoned our German God (*Deutschgott*).

ERNST BERGMANN.¹ Bibl. I, 30, p. 233.

How can a nation obtain leadership (*zum Führervolk werden*), when the holy places of its religion do not lie in its own country? When it is compelled to venerate a Holy Sepulchre in a far-off land?

ERNST BERGMANN, *ibid.*, p. 244.

WE need a Faith that prays to a National God, not an international God of reward and punishment.

ERNST BERGMANN, *ibid.*, p. 245.

THE road to 'Völkisch' culture and education will become free by the radical removal of a 'higher' world of idealism, of humanity, of all 'higher' values of education and culture.

PROF. ERNST KRIECK.² Bibl. I, 30, p. 319.

EITHER a German God, or none at all! The international God of Christendom is a patron of the Treaty of Versailles.

ERNST NIEKISCH.³ Bibl. I, 30, p. 233.

FOR political women, there is no room in the world of National-Socialist ideas. . . . All that this movement has ever said and thought on the subject, goes against political women. Woman is relegated to her Nature-ordained family circle and to her business as wife. . . . The German revolution is an event made by, and supremely concerned with, the male.

PROF. E. HUBER, *Das ist Nationalsozialismus*,
Stuttgart, 1933, p. 121.

HERE we will not speak the warm words of peace, the words 'home' and 'fatherland'. Our words are spoken in face of the awful summons

¹ Ernst Bergmann (1881-), Professor of Philosophy at Leipzig University.

² Ernst Krieck (1882-), writer; Professor of Philosophy and Pedagogy at Frankfurt-am-Main University, and Rector thereof, 1933-4; Professor at Heidelberg University, 1934; Founder of National Socialist Education scheme on basis of *Völkischer Bildungsideal*; editor, *Volk im Werden*.

³ Ernst Niekisch (1882-) Independent Socialist Member of Bavarian Landtag, 1921; former Chairman of the Central Council (*Räte-Kongress*) of Bavaria.

of war. Youths, your hands are now raised in an oath before this monument which is erected to the sublimity of bloodshed—and Michael is the Angel of Death—and you are swearing that your lives belong to the Reich, and your blood to the Führer.

BALDUR VON SCHIRACH.¹ Bibl. I, 43, p. 231.
Addressing the *Hitler Jugend* in October 1933, at the unveiling in Westphalia of a War Memorial in the form of a monument to the Archangel Michael.

THE moral education of the people is incumbent on the State: it has a right to watch over the Church, lest her ministers should teach an unseemly morality, which in its final effects might turn against the State and its power: for instance, pacifism, the ethics of equality, spiritual liberty.

WILHELM STAPEL.² Bibl. V, 186
(and I, 30, p. 231).

THE German Faith Movement poses the question: How far does Christianity agree, how far does it disagree, with our People?

PROF. HERMANN SCHWARZ.³ Bibl. I, 30, p. 230.

I BELIEVE in the holy German people inside and outside the German frontiers. I believe in Adolf Hitler, who, by the grace of God, was sent to give the German people faith in itself once more.

Profession of Faith of the "German Faith Movement", Sept. 1934. Bibl. I, 48, p. 171.

IN a certain sense National Socialism is a religion, for it does not require its partisans to be convinced of the rightness of its teaching, but to believe in it.

PROF. PAUL SCHNABEL, Halle University;
Mitteldeutsche National-Zeitung, 4 July 1935.

¹ Baldur von Schirach (1907–), politician; educated at Munich University; joined National Socialist Party, 1925; Leader, National Socialist Student Association, 1928–30; member of Reichstag, 1932; Leader of Hitler Youth and Member of Supreme Reich Leadership of National Socialist Party.

² Wilhelm Stapel (1882–), political writer; second President of the *Dürerbund*; Leader of the *Hamburger Volksheim*, publisher of the periodical *Deutsche Volkstum*, which he raised to the status of a leading organ of young Conservative nationalism.

³ Hermann Schwarz (1864–), philosopher; Lecturer in Philosophy at Halle University, 1894; Professor at Marburg University, 1908; Professor at Greifswald University, 1910; D.D. *honoris causa* of Königsberg University; Lecturer in Religious Philosophy and Ethics, Frankfurt University, 1933; Editor of *Deutschesystematische Philosophie nach ihren Gestalten*.

THE field-grey soldier throwing the last hand grenade, the dying S.A. man whose last word is a calling on the Führer, are for us presentations of the divine, much more than is the crucified Jew.

Coburger Beobachter, 13 May 1935.

ADOLF HITLER gave us back our faith. He showed us the true meaning of religion. He came to take from us the faith of our fathers? No, he has come to renew for us the faith of our fathers and to make us new and better beings.

HANS KERRL,¹ addressing S.A. Leaders, Brunswick, 19 Nov. 1935. Bibl. I, 48, p. 172.

HOLY WRIT, as a human and typical period document, is so relative that, instead of Heaven, sometimes you may just as well say Valhalla.

REICHSBISHOP MÜLLER, Lecture at Lessing Academy, Berlin, 13 Feb. 1935. Bibl. I, 48, p. 178.

JUST as Christ made his twelve disciples into a band faithful to the martyr's death whose faith shook the Roman Empire, so now we witness the same spectacle again: Adolf Hitler is the true Holy Ghost.

HANS KERRL. 1 June 1935.
Bibl. I, 48, p. 172.

IT is only on one or two exceptional points that Christ and Hitler stand comparison, for Hitler is far too big a man to be compared with one so petty.

JULIUS STREICHER,² in a speech at a discussion organised by the German Academy of Education in Munich, 19 to 26 July 1935. Bibl. I, 12A, p. 280.

¹ Hans Kerrl (1887-), politician; former Prussian Minister of Justice; Minister without Portfolio, 1934-5; Reich and Prussian Minister for Church Affairs; leader *Reichsstelle für Raumordnung* (Reich Space-Planning Office), 1935.

² Julius Streicher (1885-), politician and journalist; Government schoolmaster in Nürnberg, 1919; soon after 1914 war began anti-semitic campaign; founded Nürnberg branch National Socialist Party, 1921; took part in Hitler's Munich Putsch and was imprisoned with Hitler at Landsberg fortress; administrative head of Central Committee for repelling Jewish Atrocity News and anti-German boycott, 1933; National Socialist Leader of Franconia, and *Gauleiter* of National Socialist Party in Franconia.

OUTLOOK ON RELIGION

IN addition to the denominational youth and the relatively small group of liberal Christians, a third Front is now coming into existence which in these days is becoming stronger and ever more clearly defined. This Front refuses to call itself Christian. It presents itself especially to the German youth as the German Faith Front, and claims that the knowledge of God based on Blood and Race is the only form which is truly suited to the German people. From the very fact that they feel that it is something essentially new and young and that the future belongs to it, large numbers of young Germans show a larger readiness to accept the doctrines of this German Faith.

MARTIN HIERONIMI, in *Volk im Werden*,
1 Sept. 1935. Bibl. I, 12A, p. 379.

I WANT the German boy to be weatherproof, quick as a greyhound, tough as leather, hard as Krupp steel. We must educate a new species of men, lest our people succumb to the degenerative tendencies of the age.

ADOLF HITLER,¹ addressing "Hitler Youth"
at Nürnberg, Sept. 1935. Bibl. I, 30,
p. 321.

THE aim of all German education is to-day quite clear. It is the German man! No longer the Liberal, the Conservative, the Proletarian, the Protestant or the Catholic man! The first consideration for every act must therefore be: what is of service to my people? There is no need to give such acts any religious foundation, based on belief in the hereafter.

Nordland, Berlin, no. 11, 18 March 1939.

FROM the exercise books of the boys of the confirmation class, Winter 1937-8, of the Parish of Fischbach-Rhön: 'The following phenomena in history act devilishly: first, the Jew; second, the Papal Church;

¹ Adolf Hitler (1889-), born at Braunau, Austria; came to Munich, 1912; served in German Army during 1914 war; twice wounded; founded National Socialist German Workers' Party, 1919; sentenced to one year's imprisonment for participation in abortive rising, 1923; re-founded Party on release, 1924; defeated by Hindenburg in Presidential election, 1932; Chancellor of Reich, Jan. 1933; Leader of Reich and Chancellor for life, 1933; Commander-in-Chief of Armed Forces, 1938.

third, Bolshevism. The following are Christlike: first, the Heroes; second, Jesus of Nazareth; and third, the Führer.'

Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, Leipzig, no. 19, 14 May 1938.

COMBAT has forged the fate-ordained trends of the German community, and therefore it determines also their education.

B. RUST, Reich Minister of Education, speech at Neu Strelitz, 15 May 1938; *Völkischer Beobachter*,¹ 17 May 1938.

ON one and the same night, that of 8 May 1936, the following outrages took place:

(1) Three wayside crucifixes were thrown down, destroyed and scattered on the highway between Hohenmührungen and Nordstetten (Horb District). (2) A statue over 6 feet high on the main road from Kühl to Kiebingen (Rottenburg District) was pulled down and broken, and a similar attempt was made on a wayside crucifix in the vicinity. (3) A stone crucifix on the road leading to Haigerloch (Rottenburg District) was pulled down and completely destroyed. (4) An attempt was made with the help of ropes to pull down the statue of St. John Nepomucene which had stood at the entrance to the village of Hemmendorf (Rottenburg District). (5) In several neighbouring parishes in Hohenzollern similar outrages were committed on wayside crosses.

On the following night of 9 May, the heavy ferro-concrete cross above Deggingen in the North Alp was torn out, thrown down and destroyed. This cross was put up by a Christian soldier of the World War, in consequence of a vow. Its concrete foundation went down almost three feet into the solid rock.

In the Archdiocese of Munich-Freising, in the summer of 1935, the priest of Lengries erected an altar in the open air with a view to enabling the Catholic members of the Hitler Youth in the adjacent Hochland camp to hear Sunday Mass. One day the altar was found scrawled all over with inscriptions. One of these on the epistle side of the altar ran: 'There ought to be a shit-heap (*Scheisshaufen*) here.'

BISHOP OF ROTTENBURG, Bavaria, Pastoral Letter dated Rogation Sunday, 1936, on outrages committed by Neo-Pagans. Bibl. I, 12A, pp. 544-9.

¹ Founded in 1887, as *Münchner Beobachter*, and later taken over by A. Hitler.

HITLER is lonely. So is God. Hitler is like God.

REICHSMINISTER HANS FRANK.¹ Bibl. I, 43, p. 365.

THE German people is no longer blinded by illusions as at the time of the Reformation. It has come to recognise not only Judaism, but Christianity too, as foreign to its genius.

Der Blitz, 12 Jan. 1936.

WE have long considered the problem: Which Christian doctrines are repugnant to the moral dispositions of the German race, and must be regarded, according to the clear teaching of Article 24 of the Party Programme of the NSDAP, as incompatible with racial conceptions? We have come to the conclusion that a host of Christian conceptions are, indeed, incompatible with our own. . . .

Das Schwarze Korps. Bibl. I, 12A,
p. 439.

GERMAN people! Whenever you meet, in German streets or on German mountain peaks, the figure of the Cross, reflect that it is not Christ who hangs there. It is our people whom they have hung there; our people degraded to be slaves of the Asiatic-Semitic lust for power, slaves and playthings of a world-wide priestcraft. There hangs the soul of Germany! Look carefully; is it not a German face, German features? He is no son of the Jewish race, this Christ, but a true German such as you and I. . . .

. . . German citizens, be on your guard; this cross is falling. . . . The Cross must fall if Germany is to live!

Durchbruch, no. 31, 1936.

HE who serves our Führer, Adolf Hitler, serves Germany, and he who serves Germany, serves God.

BALDUR VON SCHIRACH, Speech to the Hitler
Youth, 25 July 1936. Bibl. I, 48, p. 171.

¹ Hans Frank (1900-), jurist and Hitler's legal adviser in 1923; Member of Reich Leadership of National Socialist Party; Member of Reichstag; Bavarian Minister of Justice and Reich Commissioner for Justice, 1933-5; President Academy of German Law; since October 1939, Governor-General of German-occupied Poland; 1940, Doctor *honoris causa*, Univ. of Modena.

OUTLOOK ON RELIGION

I BELIEVE in our own divinity when millions of Germans are leagued around one Leader, I know God to be in the Force (Kraft) of our blood alone.

Profession of Faith of the group *Völkische Aktion*,
Feb. 1937.

You, of course, may believe that Christ was God's son. I think it is ridiculous to preach this dogma.

HANS KERRL, Church Minister, at reception of
Delegates of Confessional Church, 13 Feb.
1937. Bibl. I, 48, p. 174.

To us now is risen the incarnation of what Christianity really is; Adolf Hitler.

HANS KERRL. 13 Feb. 1937. Bibl. I, 48,
p. 171.

ADOLF HITLER, to thee alone we are bound. In this hour we would renew our solemn vow; in this world we believe in Adolf Hitler alone. We believe that National Socialism is the sole faith to make our People blessed. We believe that there is a Lord God in heaven, who has made us, who leads us, who guides us and who visibly blesses us. And we believe that this Lord God has sent us Adolf Hitler, that Germany might be established for all eternity.

Schulungsbrief, April 1937. Bibl. I, 35,
p. 222.

I COMPLETELY agree with the German Christians who teach that the doctrine "Love thy neighbour as thyself" is valid only conditionally. The neighbour we shall love must be connected with us by blood and race.

HANS KERRL, at Reception of Delegates of
Confessional Church, 13 Feb. 1937.
Bibl. I, 48, p. 177.

WE hear often enough from the Churches that faith can remove mountains, but we do not see anything like this being done. Beyond question there has been far too much toleration extended to religion, but in spite of this, clergymen of both denominations have gone on stirring up trouble for the State. In proof, there are the 7,000 prosecutions that have been reported since January 1933 against representatives of the Churches. . . . Furthermore, Christ did not teach men

OUTLOOK ON RELIGION

that they must fight against the National Socialist race doctrine; rather did He wage a relentless war against the Jews, who on that account slew Him on the Cross.

HANS KERRL, at Fulda, 23 Nov. 1937.

Bibl. I, 12A, pp. 274-5.

PROFESSOR WIETH-KNUDSEN has already rightly pointed out that but for temporary polygamy, there would never have been that broad flow of Teuton tribes in centuries past—which amounts to saying that ALL foundations of occidental civilisation would have been lost.

ALFRED ROSENBERG. Bibl. V, 170, p. 593.

I AM absolutely clear in my own mind, and I think I can speak for the Führer as well, that both the Catholic Church and the Evangelical Confessional Church, as they exist at present, must vanish from the life of our people.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, in private speech at the
Discussion on German Culture, Nürnberg
Party Congress, 1938. Bibl. I, 12A, p. 277.

MORALITY as such occupies no large section of human life.

WILHELM STAPEL. Bibl. I, 30, p. 277.

IN National Socialism we see the German Liberation Movement, which we would profess even were it to be led in the name of the Devil.

PASTOR MATTIAS VON KERSTLINGERODE.
Bibl. I, 36, p. 158.

BUT everyone should clearly recognise and take to heart that the service of Germany, which is also a service of God, stands above the service of any denomination. . . . We serve God by being loyal to our Führer and fulfilling our duty towards the Fatherland. We are a God-believing youth, since we serve the divine land which is Germany.

BALDUR VON SCHIRACH, speech of April 1939.
Bibl. I, 12A, p. 381.

I AM tempted to believe rather in a Germanic God than a Christian one. We are not working for the next world but for this one.

DR. GOEBBELS,¹ Mass Meeting, Cologne,
19 May 1939. Bibl. I, 48, p. 178.

¹ Joseph Paul Goebbels (1897-), politician; member of National Socialist Party from 1922; member of Reichstag from 1928; Reich Leader of National Socialist Party; District Leader for Berlin; Minister for Propaganda and National Enlightenment, 1933; President, Reich Chamber of Culture; member of Cabinet Council, 1938; editor of National Socialist Party newspaper, *Der Angriff*.

CHRISTIANITY has frequently been a kind of soul malady, not only paralysing all natural psychical powers, but finally causing a vast number of German people, as a result of its depreciation of the body, to become pitiable wretches.

Das Schwarze Korps, 15 June 1939.
Bibl. I, 12A, p. 565.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM is no denomination; it is, however, a doctrine which professes its faith in the divine vocation of nations and especially in the great mission of the German nation. . . . Service given to one's own nation is a consecration and a service offered to God.

REICHSMINISTER DR. FRANK, *Rechtsgrundlegung
des N.S. Führerstaates*. Bibl. I, 12A,
p. 481.

WE have always considered it a matter of course that the antiquated bourgeois attitude towards unmarried mothers and their children should be radically changed—not merely because illegitimate children, that is children of Love, more often than not mean valuable blood for the nation, and therefore ought to be protected and encouraged by the nation out of the very urge of self-preservation. . . . A girl who were to attempt to shirk this her supreme duty, is just as much a deserter as a conscientious objector.

Das Schwarze Korps, 4 Jan. 1940.

. . . This time God Almighty is not on the side of the hypocritical blasphemers. . . . God Almighty stands and falls with the strong German arms which clear the path for the whole Christian world.

The Free American,¹ 10 Oct. 1940.

. . . National Socialism, under the leadership of this truly God-loving and Christian man, brought Christian ideas and teachings, which had been for 2,000 years but a theoretical basis for social and economic reform, into realisation for the first time in history. It would be interesting to find a single man who could prove that the Führer of the National Socialist movement has given a single order that was not in accordance with Christ's teaching of showing love towards your neighbour. . . .

German broadcast, 10 Dec. 1940.

¹ New York Nazi weekly.

OUTLOOK ON RELIGION

THE Heredity (Prevention of Diseased Offspring) Act provides, in the interests of the whole, power to interfere with the rights and desires of the individual, and thus is in accordance with our doctrine 'Common Interest before Self-Interest'.

DR. G. WAGNER, former Leader of Reich Doctors, at the 1934 Party Rally. *Der Kongress zu Nürnberg vom 5 bis 10/9/1934*; Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P., 1934, p. 155.

APPLICATION for Sterilisation can also be made: (1) by the appointed doctor; (2) for the inmates of hospitals, nursing homes, convalescent homes, or penal institutions, by the director.—Heredity Act of 14 July 1933: Clause 3.

The decision of the Supreme Hereditary Health Court is final.—*Ib.*, Clause 10.

Perhaps these so-called 'artists' really do see things that way, and believe in what they depict. If so, it would have to be ascertained whether their eye defects were due to mechanical circumstances or to heredity; in the one case it would be deeply lamentable for these poor fellows, in the second case important for the Home Office, which would then have to face the question of how to prevent the further inheritance of so gruesome a disturbance of the sight.

A. HITLER, at the opening of the House of German Art, 18 July 1937, *Das Archiv*, vol. 40, 469.

THERE is no sense in starting a strike against an irresponsible employer. Such a man has to be hauled out and sterilised.

DR. LEY,¹ addressing factory workers and managers, 19 April 1934, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 21 April 1934.

THE Sterilisation Act also applies to priests and members of religious Orders.

From a Decree of the Reich and Prussian Minister of the Interior, 6 Feb. 1935, *Der Deutsche Weg*, German Roman Catholic Weekly, Oldenzaal, 3 March 1935.

¹ Robert Ley (1890–), leader of German Workers' Front; airman in War of 1914–18; chemist in I.G. Farben works; Rhineland Gauleiter, 1925; member of Reichstag, 1930; leader of Political Organisation of National Socialist Party, 1932; leader of "Kraft durch Freude" movement.

ON two occasions the patients, dreading the operation [of sterilisation], ran out of the hospital. In one case the operation had to be interrupted for a time, as the person was highly excited and in fits. . . . The mental resistance may occasionally bring about a catastrophe.

LUDWIG HELLER, *Eindreiviertel-Jahr Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses in Gelsenkirchen*, 1937, pp. 17, 10.

THE law enjoins sterilisation without regard to the moral state of those concerned.

Juristische Wochenschrift, Breslau, no. 44,
31 Oct. 1936.

IN a good number of cases, the sterilisation order will wreck the happiness of life, break up married life, or destroy a girl's prospects of marriage. In many other cases sterilisation has other results: no marriage loans are available, nor posts in the civil service or in the agricultural settlements; those affected cannot join the army, police, or postal service.

Juristische Wochenschrift, Kiel, 11 May 1935.

THE question whether the Hereditary Health Courts may refrain from ordering sterilisation in cases where the individual concerned is possessed of invaluable hereditary spiritual gifts must be answered in the negative.

Juristische Wochenschrift, Dresden, no. 15,
11 April 1936.

Section 2

GERMANY'S YEARNING FOR A MESSIAH. CULT OF THE DICTATOR

... *The Fuehrer has spoken.*
Who would mistrust his words?
Who could mistrust them? ...

HERMANN RAUSCHNING, *Danziger Vorposten*,
5 January 1934.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

If in the German view religion connotes the deification of the German Nation, whether by a Germanisation of Christianity or by a return to the ancient German Gods, it is not surprising that the new god—Germany—must have its prophets. In the morbid atmosphere in which debased Christian traditions were mingled with dreams of a revival of the Wotan cult, a longing for a German Messiah was bound to arise. This imagined Leader and Saviour was foretold even in the nineteenth century. Some Germans saw him in Bismarck, others in Wilhelm II. To-day all Germany sees him in Hitler.

If Hitler falls in the struggle with Europe, then, after a period of apathy in consequence of their defeat, the Germans will undoubtedly again look for a new Messiah, after proclaiming Hitler a false prophet, as they proclaimed Wilhelm II in 1918.

Europe must watch to ensure that the intellectual poison of German mysticism, which cannot be effectively destroyed by the sword, shall not in the course of time give birth to a new, perhaps even more menacing, Fuehrer of the German Nation.

In addition to the mystical longing for a German Messiah another related tendency is observable, namely, the yearning after a dictator, who will undertake responsibility for the fate of Germany, and to whom Germans can blindly submit. This second tendency lays bare a curious feature of German mentality, which has no interest in democracy, and attaches no weight to the participation of the nation as a whole in decisions of vital importance to Germany's life and existence. Possibly this

absence of democratic thought in the German nation is the result of historical tradition, since Germany has never been governed democratically, but has always been subjugated to the will of an individual or that of an oligarchic clique.

This non-democratic tendency of the German nation was perfectly summed up by Sir Edward Grey during the 1914 war:

"The real obstacle to peace seems to me to be the desire of the German people not to be masters in their own house, and not to know anything except what their Government tells them. . . ."

This German tendency to avoid personal, individual judgment of affairs and to submit blindly to the opinion of the ruling class was also excellently expressed, from another standpoint, by Mr. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour and National Service, in a speech on 20 October 1940:

"The Prussian always acts on the assumption that the human being is an automaton, that he can be organised, ordered and driven and reduced almost to the condition of a robot.

"This type of mind has been predominant in Germany since the '50's, and has followed a doctrine of force and ravaged Europe many times, believing that by adding to the number of robots and thieving the raw materials and lands of other countries they can establish a power which will have succeeded in subduing the rest of the world."

IN all things one extreme is opposed by another, and the same destiny which, in the course of its eternal cycle, born primarily from our incapacity, has led Germany and its federative organisation by the ways above described to the state in which she found herself more than 1,500 years ago in the forests of ancient Germany, will once more compel her to follow her road with the equal co-operation of the finest forces of the country, above all else forcing the princes to choose a chief, after the ancient custom, to remain faithful to him in life and death, and to bind their own independence with the liberty of their peoples.

JOSEPH VON GÖRRES,¹ *Politische Schriften*,
Vol. IV, p. 449. Bibl. V, 63.

ALLOW me to refer to a small volume by *Bollmann*, entitled *The Justification of Machiavellism*, which appeared in 1858. The contents of the book are in accordance with its title, and that which Machiavelli once claimed for Italy, the author here applies to Germany. He finds the small political parties impotent; but he desires an armed reformer, who by blood and fire would create German unity, and to whom all things would be permissible provided he achieved the proposed end. So speaks the defender of Machiavellism. Is it not possible to believe that he was predicting the already flaming meteor of Bismarck? The armed reformer has come both on this and on the other side of the Alps. It is not in vain that Machiavelli wrote; the spirit of his *Prince* lives; it has descended to us in the form of Prince Bismarck.

KONSTANTIN FRANTZ.² Bibl. IX, 34,
pp. 16, 17, 31.

¹ Joseph von Görres (1776–1848), publicist; Professor of History at Munich University; leader of the Catholic political movement. A "Görres-Gesellschaft" was founded in his memory (*Verein zur Pflege der Wissenschaft im Katholischen Deutschland*).

Ed. note.—According to Görres, writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Germany would rise again. This would result from the fusion of the two powers, spiritual and temporal, in the hands of the better of the German princes.

² Konstantin Frantz (1817–91), political writer; Secretary in the German Foreign Office; advocated the formation of a great Central European Federation and a German world policy.

GERMANY'S YEARNING FOR A MESSIAH

Letter to Bismarck

BERLIN, 8 June 1863.

BELLEVUESTRASSE 13.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I humbly send herewith as, if only in jest, a continuation of our recent conversation, the constitution of *my Reich* [a reference to the Statutes of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*: editor's note] as to which you may perhaps be envious of me! But from this miniature picture you may definitely be convinced how true it is that the working class instinctively feels attracted to dictatorship, if they can first be genuinely convinced that it will be practised in their interests, and how very much, therefore, as I have already told you recently, they would be disposed, despite all republican sentiments—or more precisely on those very grounds—to see in the Crown the natural wielder of the social dictatorship in contradistinction to the egotism of bourgeois society, if the Crown for its part could ever decide on the truly very improbable step of taking a genuinely revolutionary and national direction and transforming itself from a monarchy of the privileged classes into a social and revolutionary People's monarchy.

FERDINAND LASSALLE.¹ Bibl. VIII, B. 64, p. 108.

WHAT we want now is a new Bismarck to take the helm and be the Führer of the German people.

VICE-ADMIRAL BREUSING, in a Lecture on German World Policy, Jan. 1914. Bibl. I, 28, p. 65.

BUT we have found no statesman or leader to command and lead us as soldiers. . . . We have chosen leaders from among ourselves by hard trial, and now we are waiting for the great leader or statesman who will be prepared to lead this willing army of the Stahlhelm.

We shall be glad to place ourselves at the disposal of the man who by the grace of the Lord God becomes leader of Germany.

FRANZ SELDTE,² speech delivered on the Stahlhelmtag in Berlin, 15 May 1927. Bibl. II, 15, p. 119.

¹ Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–64), founder and leader of the General German Workers' Union, in 1863.

² Franz Seldte (1882–), politician; proprietor of chemical works at Magdeburg; served as officer during 1914–18 war; also in Military Section of German Foreign Office; founder of Stahlhelm, 1918; first Reich leader of Stahlhelm; joined Hitler, and became Reich Minister of Labour, 1933.

GERMANY'S YEARNING FOR A MESSIAH

CERTAINLY, it is our conviction that dictatorship alone will save our Fatherland. We must proclaim this, out of our conscience, even to-day, despite all the outcry about alleged high treason and planned putsches.

HEINRICH CLASS,¹ at the plenary session of the
Pan-German League, 22 April 1928;
Deutsche Zeitung, no. 956, 23 April 1928.

WHOEVER loves his people and wishes to accelerate the crisis of the present sickness, will long for war as the arouser of all that is good, sound and strong in the people. . . . If we are defeated—and this possibility will not deter the brave—then the present internal confusion will become intensified to the point of chaos, into which order can be brought only by the mighty will of a Dictator. The Dictatorship will rest on the Army and the consent of all loyal citizens and carry out the necessary constitutional reform.

DANIEL FRYMANN (Heinrich Class)
Bibl. V, 20, pp. 53-4.

EVERY people requires a Führer. . . . Our most ardent prayers are for a Führer. . . . We love war, and could furnish to a capable leader all the elements he could desire. We may have to wait a long time for a Führer, but the intervening time will have served for the better political education of our people.

Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung,² Sept. 1913.
Bibl. I, 28, p. 65.

AND if to-day, despite our great industrial development, we have sunk to such a low political level, it is simply because we lack a Führer.

. . . The German nation has never refused to follow its Führer . . . but the sword must not be allowed to rust. The German spirit . . . requires to feel the whip of a man of action. . . . When our Saviour comes, he must not fear to kill or to bear the brand of infamy; but he must come soon. We should, if we had a Führer, find ourselves in presence of the product of a moral loan, a hot-house plant, a psycho-

¹ Heinrich Class (1868-) (pseudonyms, Daniel Frymann and "Einhard"), politician; for many years President of the Alldeutsche Verband; was prominent in the Morocco question, 1905, and in the discussion of German war aims, 1914-18. Spiritual father of the so-called 'national regeneration'. His *Deutsche Geschichte*, first published in 1909, had sold in all 50,000 copies by 1914 (5th ed.).

² Organ of the German Heavy Industry. Founded in 1738.

logical monstrosity, because for Germany what is normal spells decadence.

W. FUCHS, Medical Counsellor, in *Die Post*,
Jan. 1912. Bibl. I, 28, p. 65.

FOR a large portion of the younger generation there was in the eighties only one possible party: the party of Bismarck. He towered head and shoulders above all others. For a long time we had possessed an almost dogmatic faith in every path of foreign as well as of domestic policy which he pointed out to us, an almost moral aversion toward whoever blocked these paths.

F. MEINECKE.¹ Bibl. VIII, B. 66 (c), p. 17.

THE . . . 'reorientation' had the erroneous idea as its starting point. . . . And this at a time when, in the field, everything big and small showed that everything depends on the leader—when German industry and agriculture, under strong leaders, achieved . . . that which was regarded as impossible.

This abandonment of the Führer idea meant the abandonment of the idea of power.

HEINRICH CLASS. 1920. Bibl. V, 21, p. 118.

THUS everywhere at the front the Führer idea was proving itself—but the homeland was without a leader.

HEINRICH CLASS. 1920. *ibid.*, p. 176.

. . . We must all understand that only manly discipline—unconditional subordination to selfless leaders guided only by their public spirit, relegation of our own thoughts, and confidence in the Führer—can guarantee that the moral force of the individual shall be aggregated into a power that will effect the re-building of the nation and the Fatherland.

ERICH LUDENDORFF. 1922.
Bibl. VI, 38, p. 337.

WHERE a Hitler leads, a Hohenzollern can follow.

PRINCE AUGUST WILHELM,² June 1931.
Bibl. I, 43, p. 164.

¹ F. Meinecke (1862–), from 1887 to 1901 in the Prussian Archives Department; University Professor.

² August Wilhelm, Prince of Prussia (1887–), son of Kaiser Wilhelm II; Doctor of social science; former Prussian civil servant; a devoted follower of Hitler.

. . . The German people would never have experienced this German Revolution (March, 1933), this elevation out of spiritual misery, without Adolf Hitler, who by his innate leadership satisfied the nation's longing for liberation.

WILHELM VON MÜFFLING. Bibl. IX, 106, p. 7.

. . . Hitler is the Alpha and the Omega of our philosophical system, the unshakable centre of our political thoughts and actions. Every National Socialist home must have a place where the leader is visibly present, and where our thoughts can perceive him directly. Generous hands and hearts must, at that place, make him little daily offerings of flowers and vine-branches, as we do before the images of loved ones, in order to show how we love and respect them.

This kind of altar need not be installed in a separate room, but in the most frequented rooms, accessible at all hours even to strangers.

From an article entitled "The Domestic Altar of National Socialists", relating to a personal cult of Hitler, *Preussische Zeitung*, Königsberg, 29 Jan. 1932. Bibl. I, 56, p. 227.

HERE, possibly even in our own country, the ultimate decisions are waiting for their man. In presence of these the little aims and notions of our current politics sink to nothing. He whose sword compels victory here will be lord of the world. The dice are there ready for this stupendous game. Who dares to throw them?

OSWALD SPENGLER. Bibl. VIII, A, 68, p. 230.

. . . It is not for my own sake that I asked for this national vote, but for the sake of the German people. It is not I who require such a vote of confidence to strengthen and sustain me; it is the German people who require a Chancellor supported by such confidence before the world. For I am nothing, my fellow-countrymen, but your mouthpiece, and do not wish to be anything but the representative of your life and the defender of your vital interests.

ADOLF HITLER, speech at Hamburg on 17 Aug. 1934, referring to the vote on the Succession Law of 19 Aug. 1934. Bibl. IX, 134.

Just as the Roman Catholic considers the Pope infallible in all matters concerning religion and morals, so do we National-Socialists believe, with the same inner conviction, that for us the Leader is, in all political

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and other matters concerning the national and social interests of the people, simply infallible. Wherein lies the secret of this enormous influence which he has on his followers? . . .

We love Adolf Hitler because we believe deeply and unswervingly that God has sent him to us to save Germany.

HERMANN GOERING.¹ Bibl. VI, 20, pp. 79-80.

AND so I believe to-day that my conduct is in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator. In standing guard against the Jew I am defending the handiwork of the Lord.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 66.

IT is with pride that we see that one man is kept above all criticism—the Führer.

The reason is that everyone feels and knows: he was always right and will always be right. The National Socialism of us all is anchored in the uncritical loyalty, in the devotion to the Führer that does not ask for the wherefore in the individual case, in the tacit performance of his commands.

RUDOLF HESS,² broadcast speech at Cologne,
25 June 1934. Bibl. II, 16A, p. 10.

BLESSED are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. The way has been shown us by the Führer.

DEAN ECKERT, Sermon at Tegel (North Berlin),
10 Feb. 1935. Bibl. I, 48, p. 171.

You, my Führer, have given us our daily bread this year also.

DR. GOEBBELS, National Festival, 1 May 1935.
Bibl. I, 48, p. 180.

¹ Hermann Wilhelm Goering (1893-), politician and writer; Commander of Richthofen air squadron in 1914-18 war; supreme leader of S.A., 1922; wounded in Munich Putsch, 1923; member of Reichstag since 1928; President of same, 1932; Prussian Prime Minister and Reich Minister for Air, 1933; Commander-in-Chief of German air force; Commissioner for the Four Years' Plan; 'Patron' of Prussian Academy of Art; member of Cabinet Council, 1938; of Secret War Cabinet, 1939. Reich Field-Marshal from 1940.

² Rudolf Walter Richard Hess (1894-), politician; b. Alexandria; in 1914-18 war, officer and airman; member of National Socialist Party since 1920; Hitler's private Secretary, 1925; Chairman of National Socialist Central Political Committee, 1932; Deputy National Socialist leader, 1933; Minister without Portfolio, 1933; member of Secret Cabinet Council, 1938. Second Substitute to Hitler at outbreak of war, 1939. Fled from Germany to England, 10 May 1941.

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FORMERLY, we were in the habit of saying: this is right or wrong; to-day we must put the question thus: What would the Führer say? This attitude towards the Führer, as well as his own person, are the categorical imperative to which German life must henceforward conform. We are under the great obligation of recognising as a holy work of our Volk's spirit the laws signed by Adolf Hitler's name. Hitler has received his authority from God. Therefore he is the champion, sent by God, of German Right in the world.

HANS FRANK, Frankfurt-am-Main, 30 and 31
Oct. 1935. Bibl. I, 30, p. 29.

WE had a feeling that Germany had been transformed into a great house of God, including all classes, professions, and creeds, where the Führer as our mediator stood before the throne of the Almighty.

DR. JOSEF GOEBBELS, in a broadcast,
19 April 1936. Bibl. I, 48,
p. 182.

GOD says, as Hitler does: I do not need your assent for my own sake. I need no support. I am firmly in the saddle. God does not need your assent for His own sake, does He? He never needed it from all eternity.

God says, as Hitler does: Give me your 'Aye'. He does not need it, but we are lost without this 'Aye', just as everybody in the German lands is lost if he does not give Hitler his 'Aye'.

JOHANN LOHMANN, *Hitlerworte als Gleichnisse
für Gottesworte*, Bamberg, 1934, pp. 18, 19.

WE believe on this earth in Adolf Hitler alone! We believe in National Socialism as the creed which is the sole source of grace! We believe that Almighty God has sent us Adolf Hitler so that he may rid Germany of the hypocrites and Pharisees.

DR. ROBERT LEY, quoted in *Frankfurter Zeitung*,
23 July 1936.

ADOLF HITLER, to thee alone we are bound. In this hour we would renew our solemn vow: we believe in this world in Adolf Hitler alone. We believe that National Socialism is the sole faith to make our people blessed. We believe that there is a Lord God in heaven who has made us, who leads us, who guides us and who visibly blesses us.

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And we believe that this Lord God has sent us Adolf Hitler, that Germany should be established for all eternity.

Schulungsbrief, April 1937. Bibl. I, 35, p. 222.

EVERYTHING comes from Adolf Hitler. His faith is our faith, and therefore our daily Credo is: I believe in Adolf Hitler alone!

DR. LEY, quoted in *Hakenkreuzbanner*,
Mannheim, 9 July 1937.

WE believe that the Führer is fulfilling a divine mission to German destiny! This belief is beyond challenge.

RUDOLF HESS, speech, 20 June 1934;
Reden, Munich, 1938, p. 25.

How shall I give expression, O my Führer, to what is in our hearts? How shall I find words to express your deeds? Has there ever been a mortal as beloved as you, my Führer? Was there ever belief as strong as the belief in your mission? You were sent us by God for Germany!

HERMANN GOERING. Bibl. VI, 19, p. 326.

PROVIDENCE must have aimed at my becoming the Redeemer of my native country. I am happy that Providence has chosen me. What happened in these days [the rape of Austria] was a boundless miracle.

ADOLF HITLER, in the Reichstag, 18 March
1938. Bibl. I, 48, p. 180.

WITH all our powers we will endeavour to be worthy of the Führer thou, O Lord, hast sent us!

RUDOLF HESS, address to Political Leaders,
Munich, 21 April 1938. Bibl. I, 48,
p. 184.

ON this Christmas, our prayer is: 'Lord Almighty, Thou hast given us the Führer: Thou hast blessed his struggle by a mighty victory; Thou gavest him power worthy of a new people; the power to create a new, great free German Reich and to make it secure against its antagonists. Lord Almighty, give us the power to help him in this struggle with all our powers, to fight and to work for our eternal,

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wonderful Germany, so that we shall continue to be worthy of Thy blessing.

RUDOLF HESS, Christmas Speech, broadcast
24 Dec. 1940.

FIVE thousand German cadet officers heard the Führer on 18 December, or rather, received their consecration as officers.

... 'My Führer! From now on a bright, sacred and guarded flame is blazing; the flame of the new National Socialist soldierliness.'

This is the voice of the soldier. Soldierliness is nothing, without the flame in the heart, without enthusiasm, without devotion to the Führer, without idealism. The greatness of the soldier's profession is that the acquisition not of material goods, but of higher values, is at stake. A nation without soldiers has no point at which its true metal can come into existence. What is needed is a sphere in which the worries and miseries of humdrum life are no longer talked about. There must be a sphere in which the highest values and demands of the nation can be professed without anyone feeling them out of place. The work of the Party and the Army, and particularly of the Officers' Corps, is necessary to keep idealism, the necessary condition of victory, alive. The German soldier has a clear landmark in the man who shows the path in his person. On 18 December the motto for 5,000 new officers was 'Führer, command, we follow.' We conquer in this war because we have the Führer.

German broadcast, 22 Dec. 1940.

Section 3

MACHIAVELLIANISM. PRUSSIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT AND THE PRUSSIAN SPIRIT

A German is capable of great things, but it is improbable that he will perform them. But he knows how to get intoxicated and he has a deep, almost childlike disposition to obey. To submit, to follow, that is a German virtue; to achieve obedience to a person is the cult of the German, all the more so when little is left in him of the cult of religion. The eleventh commandment in Germany is: One must always take that view of a matter which the good Lord commands!

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE.

. . . I have a mind and feel it my duty to tell the Germans all the things they have on their conscience. They have on their conscience all the great cultural crimes of four centuries!

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, *Ecce Homo*, 3rd ed.,
Kroener, 1922, p. 110.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

After throwing off the shackles of traditional morality Germany could easily adopt Machiavellianism as the basis of her policy: Machiavellianism in the sense that the end justifies the means. The end is Germany's domination of the world, and to reach that end Germany may pass with an untroubled German heart through a sea of the blood and tears of other nations. In Germany itself such Machiavellianism is rightly called the 'Potsdam spirit', since its political father was the cynical Frederick the Great, whose memory was honoured equally by Bismarck and Wilhelm II,—by Stresemann and Hitler. The philosophical father of that policy, with its lack of all moral principle, was Fichte, whose works had a profound influence on German literature throughout the nineteenth and also in the twentieth century.

Of particular interest is the homage which Stresemann paid to the shade of Frederick the Great. But it has to be remembered that only a man educated in Frederick's traditions could simultaneously be a member of the Pangerman League, the wellspring of German imperialism,

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

and a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. Unfortunately, very few people in Europe had any idea of this threefold status.

* * *

But the Prussian spirit is something more than a mere absence of scruples in regard to policy. It is a symbol of the entire contemporary German Weltanschauung—world outlook—which is based on the apotheosis of force and the subjugation to it of everything that Europeans call moral principle. It is impossible not to agree with Hermann Goering when he says with emphasis that the Prussian spirit still lives and reigns in united Germany of to-day. In the nineteenth century the Prussian spirit subjugated all Germany and shaped its moral features,—features which to-day we call Hitlerism, while yesterday we called them Pangermanism.

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WHEN sovereigns wish to come to a rupture it is not the question of the contents of the declaration which restrains them; they take their sides, they make wars, and they leave to some lawyer the task of justifying them.

FREDERICK THE GREAT,¹ *Bibl. IV, 4 (History of the Seven Years War)*, Vol. IV. p. 25.

THERE are two kinds of wars: those that are waged out of vanity and those that are waged in the interests of the State. The first kind are undertaken by fools. If one engages in a war of the second kind, one must have realised its true measure and must first reveal its secret—the aim one has in view—only when the conclusion of peace becomes inevitable. The man who betrays his design too soon frustrates himself, since he gives his enemies and begrudgers time to arm themselves. He who is able to keep silence can attain to great conquests. At worst he does not cover himself with shame even if he has to conclude a less advantageous peace than he had hoped.

FREDERICK THE GREAT, *Political Testament*, 1752.

THE fundamental principle of Machiavelli's policy and—we add without shame—of ours also, and, in our view, of all self-conscious political doctrine, is contained in these words of Machiavelli: 'Whoever founds a Republic, or, more generally, a State, and gives it its laws, must assume that men are bad and that, without exception, they will give rein to their intrinsic wickedness when they find a safe opportunity to do so!

Therefore it is to be wished that our politicians should resolve to be convinced of the two following truths, and absorb them so completely that they will never lose sight of them, and that they should never allow the least doubt as to these truths to arise in themselves, or the least desire to admit any exception to them.

1. Your neighbour, at least in so far as he is not led to consider you as his natural ally against another power formidable to both of you simultaneously, is always ready to advance himself at your expense, at the first opportunity that he can safely do so. He is obliged to act thus if he is wise, and he could not manage without doing so, even if he were your brother.

¹ Frederick II, known as the Great, King of Prussia (1712–86). Extended territory in Silesia by Peace of Breslau, 1742; by partition of Poland, 1772; by war of Bavarian Succession, 1778; raised Prussia to Continental power by victory in Seven Years' War.

2. It is not enough for you to defend your territory strictly so-called. You must have your eyes open incessantly to all that can have any influence upon your situation. At no price may you tolerate that anything within the bounds of your influence should be modified to your detriment, and do not hesitate one instant if you can modify something to your own advantage. Be sure, in effect, that the other will do the same when he can. If you for your part neglect it, you will be left behind him. Anyone who does not increase, diminishes, if only to the extent that the others increase. For an individual, it is expedient to say: 'I have enough; I do not want anything more.' He does not run the risk through such modesty of losing that which he already possesses. He knows to what judge to turn if anyone attacks him in the property he has acquired. But a State which disdains to defend its acquired possessions will not find any judge to whom it can tell its trouble on the day when it is attacked in its previous possessions, perhaps with the very same forces which it had neglected to acquire.

Do not believe that if all the princes thought and acted according to the principles above mentioned there would be endless wars in Europe. On the contrary, no one thinks of beginning a war if he cannot do so with profit, and, if all were vigilant and attentive not to abandon any advantage to anyone, every sword would keep another sword in its sheath. The result would be a long peace, which could not be interrupted by fortuitous events, such as revolutions, quarrels over succession, etc. More than half the wars which have taken place have been born of the great political faults of the attacked States; faults which gave the aggressor the hope of an easy victory, therefore the wars would have been avoided if the State had not made these mistakes. And as the practice of war must not cease, if we do not wish humanity to grow lax and to be spoilt against the eventuality of a war which is none the less possible, well, even in Europe, but above all in other continents, we have barbarians in sufficiently large numbers whom sooner or later it will be necessary to incorporate by force in the sphere of civilisation. Let European youth inure itself to combat the Barbarians, while in the common country no one will dare to draw the sword, since he will at once see raised against him swords just as sharp.

. . . The king is bound to observe the general laws of morality in his private life, equally with the most humble of his subjects. In relations with his pacific people, he is bound to observe law and right; and he is not entitled to treat anyone otherwise than in accordance

with the existing laws, although he has the right to legislate, that is to say, continually to improve the existing legal régime.

But in his relations with other States neither law nor right exists, except the right of the strongest. These relations place in the hands of the prince responsible to Fate the divine right of the Majesty of Destiny and of the Government of the world, and exalt him above the precepts of individual morality into a superior moral order of which the material content is summarised in these words: *Salus et decus populi suprema lex esto*.

JOHANN GOTTLIEB FICHTE.¹

IN the event of a war with France, it would undoubtedly be important to Prussia's preservation that Northern Germany should be subject to a single power. Then the war would be waged with much greater energy, for unity of government confers more force on the measures taken.

In this case, it would obviously be necessary to dispossess the petty princes of their sovereignty. But the crime would be no great one, for, to begin with, supreme power is not a possession, properly speaking, it being granted that the people are not things which belong to any person as his own.

DIETRICH VON BÜLOW.² Bibl. VI, 10

IF you ask me what I am, I will tell you: neither Liberal, nor Conservative, but Prussian, that is, German; German, that is, Prussian . . .

PROF. J. H. DROYSSEN.³ Bibl. VIII, B. 19, Vol. 2 (quoted
Bibl. VIII, B. 58, p. 123).

I SEEK Prussian honour in this, that Prussia, above all, had departed from any tasteful connection with democracy.

BISMARCK,⁴ from a speech in the Prussian
Landtag, 1850.

¹ Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), philosopher; Professor and first Rector of Berlin University. Besides his advocacy of an idealistic philosophy partly derived from Kant, he also preached a State system in which the individual should be fully subordinated to the service of the State.

² von Bülow, Dietrich (1757-1807), Prussian soldier and military writer. He is often considered as "father of modern tactics". v. Bülow edited, *inter alia*, *Annalen des Krieges* (1806), in collaboration with G. H. von Behrenhorst.

³ Johann Gustav Droysen (1808-84), Politician and Historian; Professor at Berlin University; took part in the German national movement in Schleswig-Holstein.

⁴ Otto, Prince von Bismarck (1815-98), Prussian and Reich Statesman; the 'Iron Chancellor', at head of Reich Government during years of creation of 'unified Reich', and primarily responsible for the achievement of that union; also responsible for the wars against Denmark (1864), Austria (1866) and France (1870-1); First Imperial Chancellor of Germany, 1871; Presided at Congress of Berlin 1878.

GENTLEMEN, the gravity of the times in which we live will not have escaped the notice of any of you. All the great European States are hurriedly making preparations in anticipation of an uncertain future. The whole world is asking if war is going to break out. If, in this political tension, there is any State capable of working to maintain peace, it is Germany: Germany, which is not directly interested in the questions which are disturbing the other powers, Germany, which has proved that, since the Empire was constituted, it has no desire to attack any of its neighbours, unless they compel it to.

BISMARCK, speech to the Reichstag.
Bibl. I, 2 (a), pp. 180-1.

EVERY type of organisation is based on subordination, no matter what meaning is attached to this word. So it is necessary to introduce and vivify the spirit of subordination in the intellectual sphere also; Nicolai must be under the orders of Goethe. For once the encroachment of militarism upon civil life would be of benefit. It goes without saying that the conscious or unconscious partisans of Nicolai will resist this subordination, just as the Germans of to-day were only recently opposed to the political subordination of Prussia. But it is probable that in this case also their resistance will be no more successful than in former times. History is more powerful than the desires of men.

And if a man arises who shall accomplish this revolution in ideas, he will at first be hated, but then he will certainly be loved as much as Bismarck was hated and loved.

Germany is militarised. Let it now willy-nilly be civilised. Civilisation is based upon the subordination of inferior instincts and ideas to more exalted instincts and ideas. Subordination is a Prussian quality.

. . . That is why Prussia must make use of all that she has that is truly noble, and make it dominant in intellectual life, as she has done quite naturally in military life. That is a duty which is imposed on her by her lofty German mission.

JULIUS LANGBEHN (1890).¹ Bibl. IX, 92.

It is incontestable that in the marriage between Prussia and Germany, the male rôle is incumbent upon Prussia.

Ibid.

¹ Julius Langbehn (1851-1907), writer and philosopher. Of his famous *Rembrandt. als Erzieher*, first published in 1890, 60 editions had been issued by 1925.

THE enlargement of Prussian power is little by little becoming a demand of justice.

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE (1869).¹ Bibl. V, 202 (a),
Vol. 2, p. 204.

. . . It is impolitic to conclude a treaty and at the same time to proffer threats of war for later on. That arouses mistrust everywhere, and nothing is more conducive to hastening what our diplomacy has been unsuccessfully working to prevent for nine years: the isolation of Germany. No! When one is really contemplating war, it is best not to say a word about it, to envelop one's designs in profound mystery; then, suddenly and unawares, one leaps like a thief in the dark, like the Japanese torpedo-boats against Port Arthur, throwing all caution to the winds, like Frederick II hurling himself on Silesia.

PROF. ALBRECHT WIRTH,² *Unsere Äussere Politik*,
pp. 35-6.

WE have just sung a Prussian national hymn which celebrates Frederick the Great. What renders that sovereign so present to our memory is not our monarchical faith, but he is for us the personification of the ancient Prussian spirit.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN,³ *Stresemann Papers*,
French ed., Vol. 2, p. 236.

. . . Up there, in the Hall of Clouds, sit the 'Hero Frederick, the Hero Blücher, the Men of Action' (but not the armchair fellows who try to make war abhorrent). The great Emperor, his Moltke, his Roon, his Bismarck, are there. And when, down on earth, a battle is fought with German arms, and the faithful dead rise from the bloody battlefield to heaven, then 'a sergeant from Potsdam' calls the guard

¹ Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-96), historian and political writer; Professor of Statecraft at Leipzig and Berlin; member of Reichstag; regarded as the great national political teacher of the German people.

² Albrecht Wirth (1866-), historian and explorer; Professor of Modern History at the Technical High School in Munich; he advocated the Continental expansion of the German Reich.

³ Gustav Stresemann (1878-1929), statesman; Chairman of the National Liberal Party in the Reichstag; during 1914-18 war was an out-and-out annexationist and held views close to those of Ludendorff; after 1918 founded the German People's Party; Reich Chancellor and Foreign Minister, 1923; responsible on German side for Locarno Pact (1925), Germany's entry into League of Nations, etc.; Nobel Prize winner in 1926.

to the gate. Old Fritz jumps up from his golden chair, orders a march past. . . . That is Young Germany's Heaven.

Jungdeutschlands Post, 1913.

IT is nonsense to assert that there is an unbridgeable gulf between the Prussian spirit and the German character.

Let us thank the German martial spirit, let us thank the Prussian spirit!

PROF. WILHELM VON BLUME. 1915. Bibl. VIII,
D. 19, pp. 16-17.

THE Prussian State has become for Germany what Rome became for Antiquity.

ERNST VON BÜLOW. 1916. Bibl. IX, 17, p. 333.

. . . Our spiritual and internal political German future depends on whether and to what extent we succeed in merging the German spirit with the Prussian Monarchy.

ERNST VON BÜLOW, 1916, *ibid.*

THE impetus to our spiritual life, to our entire inward culture—for we were too poor to give it material expression—since the middle of the eighteenth century, would have been unthinkable without the wars and victories of Frederick the Great, despite the fact that the King and Government of Prussia took little notice of it and did not know how to exploit it.

PROF. DR. KARL JACOB. 1915. Bibl. VIII, B. 42, p. 26.

ON the whole Germany's Idea demanded no modification in order to be passed on from the old to the new; from Fichte's self-contained Commercial State by way of Bismarck's unextensive, unaggressive, self-sufficing, internally rigid unity down to the semi-socialist commonwealth which is now arising there extends a direct line of development.

COUNT HERMANN KEYSERLING.¹ 1922. Bibl. VIII,
A. 27, p. 89.

Now Weimar is overcome, and to-day too it is symbolical that the new Reichstag, which will once again build up the Reich to its old greatness, its old dignity and its old honour and freedom, has returned

¹ Count Hermann Keyserling (1880-), philosopher and writer; founder of his own school of philosophy in Darmstadt; editor of *Weg zur Vollendung*.

to the place from which Prussia and, from Prussia, Germany once sprang. We have gone back to Potsdam because we want to show the world that the spirit of Potsdam shall fill us in future. Because we want to make known that this spirit, once laughed at, has nothing to do with parade grounds and parade-ground manners, but that the spirit of Potsdam stands for duty, discipline, work and cleanliness; that it was the spirit of Potsdam which once unified a people torn apart and thus created the greater Germany; that it was the spirit of Potsdam which always, in times of great difficulty, shone brightly and always led Germany upwards again. That it was the spirit of Potsdam which made it possible for us to face the whole world for four years. That it was the spirit of Potsdam which once guaranteed honour and freedom for Germany. Therefore we went there to-day in humility. We went to Potsdam in thankfulness and were deeply moved. The national revolution is not yet ended—it marches on to end what must be ended in order that our people shall be blessed.

HERMANN GOERING, Presidential speech to the Reichstag, 21 March 1933.

THE dualism of Reich and Prussia, which has existed since that unfortunate day in 1918 and which has furthered the weakening and the ruin of the politics of the German Reich, and indeed did the same to Prussia, has at last and for ever and in everything disappeared. Prussia, following its ancient victorious mission and tradition, must now become the cornerstone of the Reich. As Prussia grew out of the Mark of Brandenburg, so did Germany grow from Prussia.

. . . Prussia was once created on the formula of honour and freedom and Germany grew out of Prussia. Therefore let me close our confession of reconstruction with the words spoken by me when I opened the Reichstag: Honour and Freedom are the foundation of Prussia and Prussia is the foundation of Germany.

HERMANN GOERING, Speech at a meeting of the Prussian Landtag, 18 May 1933, dealing with the mission of Prussia in the Third Reich.

It is clearly apparent that the old Prussian concept of the State has already merged into the Reich, that is, that Prussia no longer has any tasks to perform as a sovereign State, as formerly. The eternal ethics of Prussianism remain. The concept 'Prussia' has long ago risen beyond the territorial, the material concept of the State almost into

a nuptial concept. The ethical concept of 'Prussia' is no longer tied to boundaries. . . .

Prussia is known as a country that may have produced fewer artists; but it has given the German Reich the statesmen who were necessary in order to create the conditions that to-day at last enable an Adolf Hitler to satisfy the longing of German man. . . .

. . . In the higher sense, that is not earth-bound, but is rooted in the ethical, I know of no more genuine Prussian than the Führer.

HERMANN GOERING, Speech before the Prussian State Council, 18 June 1934. Bibl. II, 16A, pp. 115-16.

IN fact, the system of the Weimar Constitution produced the effect that particularism raised its ugly head not only in the Reich as a whole, but also in Prussia itself, and it was Prussia that, in due course, assumed in the Reichsrat the leadership of the opposition against the unitarian Reich Government. Dualism as between the Reich and Prussia now became far stronger than it had been before the Revolution.

. . . Soon after, however, Adolf Hitler laid the foundations of a completely unified State in Germany, thereby translating into reality the German dream of unity that had never been entirely fulfilled. Prussian hegemony is now a thing of the past. However, as the Prussian Prime Minister, Hermann Goering, stated in his farewell speech to the old Prussia before the Prussian State Council on 18 June 1934: 'The eternal ethics of Prussianism remain.'

Thus, we confidently hope, Prussian hegemony even beyond its death will be a future blessing to the German people as a source of German strength and unity.

PROF. DR. HANS TRIEPEL.¹ 1938. Bibl. VIII, D. 210, pp. 576-8.

. . . National Socialism at the beginning of its policy certainly followed the right lines which . . . ought to have led Germany towards security and lasting successes.

HERMANN RAUSCHNING.² 1938. Bibl. V, 136, pp. 393-4.

¹ Hans Triepel (1868-), jurist; Professor of State and International Law at Berlin University.

² Hermann Rauschning (1887-), Danzig politician; President of Danzig Landbund, 1932, and Senate and Foreign and Personal Department, 1933-4; National Socialist; after election of April 1935 was charged with treachery to the Party; escaped to Poland; returned to Danzig, June 1935; deprived of citizenship of Danzig in January 1939, and lives abroad.

Section 4

FALSEHOOD AND SCIENCE AT THE SERVICE OF POLITICS

The surest means of concealing a ruler's secret ambition is for him to manifest peaceful sentiments until the favourable moment for revealing his secret designs.

FREDERICK THE GREAT, *Political Testament*, 1768.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

If in German eyes the end justifies the means, naturally Germans can lie without scruple when dealing with foreign countries. The German tradition of lying as a political weapon derives from Frederick the Great, who gave his nation the following counsel: 'The surest means of concealing a ruler's secret ambition is for him to manifest peaceful sentiments until the favourable moment for revealing his secret designs.' Did not Stresemann, who with all his ostensible pacifism was fully aware of the secret German military and industrial preparations for revenge and kept the knowledge to himself, preserve the continuity of this same tradition? And, for that matter, has not Hitler been applying Frederick the Great's counsel for the past seven years?

We have deliberately given a large number of excerpts from Hitler's contradictory declarations, in order to demonstrate beyond a peradventure how much alive in Germany is the Potsdam spirit of Frederick the Great, even after two hundred years.

* * *

Anyone who regards lying as a permissible weapon in politics can hardly do other than deny the freedom and objectivity of science. German science is intended to be at the service of German politics, and it has to be admitted that German scientists willingly harness themselves to the chariot of German imperialism. Their chauvinistic utterances occupy a large part of this book.

THE twenty-five pacific years of our Kaiser's reign can be considered only as a period of preparation for war.

Kreuz-Zeitung, June 1913. Bibl. I, 28, p. 51.

MANIFESTO

OF THE INTELLECTUALS OF GERMANY—PUBLISHED IN THE U.S.A.
ON 10 OCTOBER, 1914

As representatives of Science and Art, we hereby protest to the civilised world against the lies and calumnies with which our enemies are endeavouring to stain the honour of Germany in her hard struggle for existence—in a struggle which has been forced upon her.

The iron mouth of events has proved the untruth of the fictitious German defeats, consequently misrepresentation and calumny are all the more eagerly at work. As heralds of truth we raise our voices against these.

It is not true that Germany is guilty of having caused this war. Neither the people, the Government, nor the Kaiser, wanted war. Germany did her utmost to prevent it; for this assertion the world has documental proof. Often enough during the twenty-six years of his reign Wilhelm II has shown himself to be the upholder of peace, and often enough has this fact been acknowledged by our opponents. Nay, even the Kaiser, whom they now dare to call an Attila, has been ridiculed by them for years because of his steadfast endeavours to maintain universal peace. Not till a numerical superiority, which had been lying in wait on the frontiers, assailed us did the whole nation rise to a man.

It is not true that we trespassed in neutral Belgium. It has been proved that France and England had resolved on such a trespass, and it has likewise been proved that Belgium had agreed to their doing so. It would have been suicide on our part not to have been beforehand.

It is not true that the life and property of a single Belgian citizen was injured by our soldiers without the bitterest self-defence having made it necessary; for again and again, notwithstanding repeated threats, the citizens lay in ambush, shooting at the troops out of the houses, mutilating the wounded, and murdering in cold blood the

medical men while they were doing their Samaritan work. There can be no baser abuse than the suppression of these crimes, with the view of letting the Germans appear to be criminals, only for having justly punished these assassins for their wicked deeds.

It is not true that our troops treated Louvain brutally. Furious inhabitants having treacherously fallen upon them in their quarters, our troops, with aching hearts, were obliged to fire a part of the town as a punishment. The greatest part of Louvain has been preserved. The famous Town Hall stands quite intact, for at great sacrifice our soldiers saved it from destruction by the flames. Every German would of course greatly regret if in the course of this terrible war any works of art should already have been destroyed, or be destroyed at some future time, but inasmuch as in our love for art we cannot be surpassed by any other nation, in the same degree we must decidedly refuse to buy a German defeat at the cost of saving a work of art.

It is not true that our warfare pays no respect to international laws. It knows no undisciplined cruelty. But in the east the earth is saturated with the blood of women and children unmercifully butchered by the wild Russian troops, and in the west dum-dum bullets mutilate the breasts of our soldiers. Those who have allied themselves with Russians and Servians, and present such a shameful scene to the world as that of inciting Mongolians and Negroes against the white race, have no right whatever to call themselves upholders of civilisation.

It is not true that the combat against our so-called militarism is not a combat against our civilisation, as our enemies hypocritically pretend it is. Were it not for German militarism German civilisation would long since have been extirpated. For its protection it arose in a land which for centuries had been plagued by bands of robbers as no other land had been. The German Army and the German people are one, and to-day this consciousness fraternises 70,000,000 of Germans, all ranks, positions and parties being one.

We cannot wrest the poisonous weapon—the lie—out of the hands of our enemies. All we can do is to proclaim to the world that our enemies are giving false witness against us. You who know us, who with us have protected the most holy possessions of man, we call to you:

Have faith in us. Believe that we shall carry on this war to the

end as a civilised nation, to whom the legacy of a Goethe, a Beethoven, and a Kant is just as sacred as its own hearths and homes.

For this we pledge you our names and our honour.

93 signatures follow:

Prof. Adolf von *Bayer* (Munich).
Dr. Wilhelm von *Bode* (Berlin).
Prof. Justus *Brinkmann* (Hamburg).
Richard *Dehmel* (Hamburg).
Prof. Friedrich von *Duhn* (Heidelberg).
Prof. Karl *Engler* (Karlsruhe).
Herbert *Eulenberg* (Kaiserwerth).
Prof. Wilhelm *Förster* (Berlin).
Prof. J. J. *Groot* (Berlin).
Max *Halbe* (Munich).
Prof. Peter *Berens* (Berlin).
Prof. Alois *Brandl* (Chairman of the Shakespeare Society, Berlin).
Prof. Johannes *Conrad* (Halle).
Prof. Adolf *Deibmann* (Berlin).
Prof. Paul *Ehrlich* (Frankfurt a/M.).
Prof. Gerhard *Esser* (Bonn).
Prof. Heinrich *Finke* (Freiburg).
Ludwig *Fulda* (Berlin).
Prof. Fritz *Haber* (Berlin).
Prof. Adolf von *Harnack* (Berlin).
Prof. Emil von *Behring* (Marburg).
Prof. Lujo *Brentano* (Munich).
Franz von *Defregger* (Munich).
Prof. Wilhelm *Dorpfeld* (Berlin).
Prof. Albert *Ehrhard* (Strassburg).
Prof. Rudolf *Eucken* (Jena).
Prof. Emil *Fischer* (Berlin).
Eduard von *Gebhardt* (Düsseldorf).
Prof. Ernst *Haeckel* (Jena).
Gerhart *Hauptmann* (Agnietendorf).
Karl *Hauptmann* (Schrieberhau).
Prof. Andreas *Heusler* (Berlin).
Engelbert *Humperdinck* (Berlin).
Fritz Aug. von *Kaulbach* (Munich).
Max *Klinger* (Leipzig).
Prof. Paul *Laband* (Strassburg).
Maximilian *Lenz* (Hamburg).
Ludwig *Manzel* (President of Academy of Arts, Berlin).
Prof. Sebastian *Merkle* (Würzburg).
Prof. Gustav *Hellmann* (Berlin).
Adolf von *Hildebrand* (Munich).
Leopold Graf *Kalckreuth* (Eddelsen).
Prof. Theodor *Kipp* (Berlin).
Prof. Alois *Knöpfer* (Munich).
Prof. Karl *Lamprecht* (Leipzig).

Max *Liebermann* (Berlin).
 Prof. Josef *Mausbach* (Münster).
 Prof. Eduard *Meyer* (Berlin).
 Prof. Wilhelm *Herrmann* (Marburg).
 Ludwig *Hoffmann* (Berlin).
 Artur *Kampf* (Berlin).
 Prof. Felix *Klein* (Göttingen).
 Prof. Anton *Koch* (Münster).
 Prof. Philipp *Lenard* (Heidelberg).
 Prof. Franz von *Liszt* (Berlin).
 Prof. Georg von *Mayr* (Munich).
 Prof. Heinrich *Morf* (Berlin).
 Friedrich *Naumann* (Berlin).
 Prof. Wilhelm *Ostwald* (Leipzig).
 Prof. Albert *Plehn* (Berlin).
 Prof. Alois *Riehl* (Berlin).
 Prof. Max *Rübner* (Berlin).
 Prof. August *Schmidlin* (Münster).
 Prof. Albert *Neisser* (Breslau).
 Bruno *Paul* (Berlin).
 Georg *Reicke* (Berlin).
 Prof. Karl *Robert* (Halle).
 Fritz *Schaper* (Berlin).
 Prof. Gustav von *Schmoller* (Berlin).
 Prof. Walter *Nernst* (Berlin).
 Prof. Max *Planck* (Berlin).
 Prof. Max *Reinhardt* (Berlin).
 Prof. Wilhelm *Röntgen* (Munich).
 Prof. Adolf von *Schlatter* (Tübingen).
 Prof. Reinhold *Seeberg* (Berlin).
 Prof. Martin *Spahn* (Strassburg).
 Hans *Thoma* (Karlsruhe).
 Richard *Vob* (Berchtesgaden).
 Prof. Wilhelm *Waldeyer* (Berlin).
 Theodore *Wiegand* (Berlin).
 Prof. Richard *Willstätter* (Berlin).
 Franz von *Stuck* (Munich).
 Wilhelm *Trübner* (Karlsruhe).
 Prof. Karl *Tobler* (Munich).
 Prof. Aug. von *Wassermann* (Berlin).
 Prof. Wilhelm *Wien* (Würzburg).
 Prof. Wilhelm *Windelband* (Heidelberg).
 Hermann *Sudermann* (Berlin).
 Karl *Vollmöller* (Stuttgart).
 Siegfried *Wagner* (Bayreuth).
 Felix von *Weingartner*.
 Prof. Ulrich von *Wilamowitz-Möllendorf* (Berlin).
 Prof. Wilhelm *Wundt* (Leipzig).

Bibl. I, 13, p. 37 ff.

THE International Lie-Press has risen up as a fourth Great Power against Germany, and deluges the world with lies against our magni-

ficent and strictly moral Army, and slanders everything that is German. I propose that in the treaty of peace we should claim a special milliard as indemnity for lies.

A. VON HARNACK.¹ 1914. Bibl. VII, 9, p. 4.

. . . We were, in fact, quite clear about Belgium: she had long infringed neutrality in her heart. Hence *her* neutrality was, in fact, 'a scrap of paper'. . . .

We *knew* that from the moment the war with France and Britain had broken out we must count Belgium among our enemies; that she no longer possessed the will and the power to stay really neutral.

MARTIN RADE.² 1915. Bibl. VII, 17, p. 26.

I LOOK upon it as absolutely the deepest feature of the German character, this passionate love of right, of justice, of morality. This is something which the other nations have not got.

PASTOR WALTER LEHMANN. 1915. Bibl. VII, 15, p. 79.

ANYONE who treats the foreigner of no use to him as air, and of use to him as a commodity, when he finds himself in an awkward corner can regard a lie concerning a foreign State as not a lie, and deceit as not deceit, and attack in the midst of peace appears to him, when it is of benefit against England, as a permitted measure.

WILHELM WUNDT.³ 1915. Bibl. VIII, A. 72, p. 131.

IF we survey the whole picture of the great conflict of politico-economic interests between the two groups of Powers, then the final judgment must be: the aggressive policy aiming at forcible political associations was on the side of the Triple Entente. . . . There is no point that can be named at which Germany has provoked a conflict with the partners of the Triple Entente through aggressive measures.

EDUARD DAVID, 1915. *Die Sozialdemokratie im Weltkrieg.*

¹ Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930), evangelical theologian; Professor at Giessen, Marburg and Berlin. Director of Prussian National Library (1905-21) and president of Evangelical Congress (1902-12). One of the most prominent German theologians.

² Martin Rade (1857-1930), evangelical theologian; Professor at Marburg University; Member of Prussian National Assembly; a leading figure in the struggle for evangelical freedom in religious and social life.

³ Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), philosopher and psychologist; Professor of Philosophy at Heidelberg and Leipzig (since 1875). One of the founders of Experimental Psychology.

No European war would make it possible to replace the unsatisfactory state of affairs to-day by something better. On the contrary, neither politically nor economically would the application of force result in creating a more favourable situation than the present one.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech in the Reichstag, 17 May 1933. Bibl. I, 48, p. 22.

THE Polish Government and the German Government consider that the time has come to introduce a new phase in the political relations between Germany and Poland by a direct understanding between State and State. They have, therefore, decided in the present Declaration to lay down the principles for the future development of these relations.

The two Governments base their action on the fact that the maintenance and guarantee of a lasting peace between their countries is an essential prerequisite for the general peace of Europe.

German-Polish Agreement of 26 Jan. 1934.
Polish White Book, 1940, p. 20.

WHEN have the German people ever broken their word?

ADOLF HITLER, Festival of Schiller's 175th birthday, Weimar, 10 Nov. 1934. Bibl. I, 48, p. ii.

REGARDLESS of the past, Germany concluded with Poland a non-aggression pact as yet another contribution of the highest value to European peace; Germany will blindly observe this pact, and has only the one desire that it should be continually renewed and that it should be the source of an ever-growing friendship in Polish-German relations.

With the understanding and the heartfelt friendship of true Nationalists, we recognise the Polish State as the home of a great nationally-conscious people.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech to the Reichstag, 21 May 1935.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM has no aggressive intentions against any European nation. On the contrary, we are convinced that the nations of Europe must continue their characteristic national existence, as created by tradition, history and economy; if not, Europe as a whole will be destroyed.

ADOLF HITLER, Party Rally, 11 Sept. 1935.
Bibl. I, 48, p. 22.

FALSEHOOD AT SERVICE OF POLITICS

AFTER three years I can regard the struggle for German equality as concluded. We have no territorial demands to make in Europe.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech to the Reichstag on the day of the military occupation of the Rhineland, 7 March 1936. Bibl. I, 48, p. 17.

WE are endeavouring to make the German people as immune as possible from this contagion [Bolshevism]. For this it is necessary that we should avoid all close contact with the bearers of these poisonous bacilli.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech to the Reichstag,
30 Jan. 1937.

To link Germany any further by treaties with the present Bolshevik Russia would be for us entirely valueless. It is not conceivable that National-Socialist Germans could ever render any help in protecting Bolshevism, nor would we ourselves wish to accept any help from a Bolshevik State. For, I am afraid, any nation receiving such help will perish through it. . . .

ADOLF HITLER, Speech to the Reichstag,
30 Jan. 1937.

THE Polish State respects the national conditions in this State, and both the city of Danzig and Germany respect Polish rights. And so the way to a friendly understanding has been successfully paved, an understanding which, beginning with Danzig, has to-day, in spite of the attempts of certain mischief-makers, succeeded in finally taking the poison out of the relations between Germany and Poland and transforming them into a sincere, friendly co-operation.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech to the Reichstag,
20 Feb. 1938.

WITH one State only did we not want any connection or any closer relations—with Soviet Russia. . . .

Any attempts to spread Bolshevism, irrespective of where they occurred, would have our abhorrence and, if they threaten us, our enmity. . . .

ADOLF HITLER, Speech to the Reichstag,
20 Feb. 1938.

THESE new impudent assertions (concerning a planned invasion of Austria) are lies from beginning to end. Here again one can see how these Jewish poisoners produce and spread their lies. But we will let it be a warning to us and energetically proceed against the Jewish mischief-makers in Germany.

ADOLF HITLER, at Commemoration of Foundation of Nazi Party, at Munich, 24 Feb. 1938—a fortnight before the German invasion of Austria. Bibl. I, 48, p. 14.

WE do not try to come in touch with Bolshevism, but Bolshevism tries to infect all human beings with its ideas and thereby to throw them into deepest misery. That is why we are its relentless enemies.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech to the Reichstag, 20 Feb. 1938. Bibl. I, 48, p. 29.

WE do not want any Czechs. When the Czechs have come to an understanding with their other minorities I shall not be interested in the Czech State any more, and, so far as I am concerned, I can guarantee it.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech at the Sportpalast, Berlin, 26 Aug. 1938. Bibl. I, 48, p. 20.

WE have called upon the constructive elements in all countries to fight in common against the destruction of Europe by Bolshevism. We stand with unshakable determination against the common front of Democracy and Bolshevism.

DR. GOEBBELS, at Party Rally, 13 Sept. 1938. Bibl. I, 48, p. 31.

WE are convinced that this agreement [with Poland: Ed.] will bring lasting peace. We understand that our two nations must live beside one another, that one of them cannot do away with the other. A State of 33 million people will always need access to the sea.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech at the Sportpalast, Berlin, 26 Sept. 1938. Bibl. I, 48, p. 24.

Now as a strong State we can be ready to pursue a policy of understanding with surrounding States. We want nothing from them. We have no wishes, no claims.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech at Saarbrücken, 9 Oct. 1938. Bibl. I, 48, p. 22.

FALSEHOOD AT SERVICE OF POLITICS

IN these weeks we are celebrating the fifth anniversary of the conclusion of the non-aggression pact with Poland. Between them and us peace and understanding shall reign.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech to the Reichstag,
30 Jan. 1939. Bibl. I, 48, p. 24.

IN January 1938 I finally resolved that during that year I would, in one way or another, win the right of the 6½ million Germans in Austria to self-determination.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech to the Reichstag,
30 Jan. 1939. Bibl. I, 48, p. 15.

THE Führer and Stalin have decided upon friendship. The non-aggression pact has established a firm and unshakable foundation on which both States will build and develop.

JOACHIM VON RIBBENTROP,¹ at Moscow,
24 Aug. 1939. Bibl. I, 48, p. 31.

I REGARD it as a triumph for common sense that we have reached an agreement with Russia.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech on anniversary of the
abortive 1923 putsch, Munich, 8 Nov.
1939. Bibl. I, 48, p. 30.

THE angel of German peace holds the olive branch in the left hand so as to have the right hand free to fire when attacked.

JOSEF BÜRCKEL,² at a mass meeting in Kaiserslautern, 2 July 1939. Bibl. I, 48, p. 25.

* * *

THERE is no such thing as unconditional science, only conditional science. . . .

At all democratic conferences to-day we hear the thesis concerning the international character of art and science.

¹ Joachim von Ribbentrop (1893-), business man and diplomat; worked in Canada, 1910-14; war service, 1914-20. Wine merchant; mediator between Hitler and German Government, 1930; participated in formation of National Socialist Government, 1933; negotiated Anglo-German agreement, 1935; Ambassador to Great Britain, 1936-38; Minister for Foreign Affairs and member of Secret Cabinet Council, 1938; negotiated German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Agreement, 1936, and Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact, 1939.

² Josef Bürckel (1895-), former National Socialist District Leader for Palatinate; Reich Commissioner for Saar, 1935-38; member of Reichstag; Commissioner for Austria, 1938; Reich Civil Commissioner for Moravia, 1939.

SCIENCE AT SERVICE OF POLITICS

But 'science' is also the outcome of the blood. Everything that we to-day abstractly call science is the result of German creative forces.

ALFRED ROSENBERG. Bibl. V, 170, p. 135.

THE will to the essence of a German University is the will to science, meaning a will to the historico-spiritual mission of the German *Volk* as a *Volk* experiencing itself in its State. Science and German destiny must attain power especially in the essential will.

PROF. MARTIN HEIDEGGER,¹ *Selbstbehauptung der deutschen Universität*, 1933. Bibl. I, 30, pp. 312-13.

MERE knowledge is not a warrant of authority over one who perchance knows less as yet, but is worth more. . . . Who has educated our young people for the struggle for liberty and led them on to the struggle? Was it the philosophers, or was it rather the storm leaders of the S.A. and the Hitler Youth? . . . It is a long step from the Liberal to the National Political Educator!

JOACHIM HAUPT,² *Nationalerziehung*, Langensalza, 1933. Bibl. I, 30, p. 316.

THE epoch of 'pure reason', of 'objective' and 'free' science is ended.

ERNST KRIECK. 1933. Bibl. VIII, A. 41, p. 1.

WE will never approach history impartially, but as Germans.

Die Deutsche Schule, Nazi educational organ.
Sept. 1933. Bibl. I, 5, p. 12.

THERE is . . . no science without qualifications; science always had qualifications . . . in fact we represent . . . freedom of research, but have stressed that this freedom of research must not be confused with freedom to abuse the greatness of the German past and great Germans from the chair of a German High School, as has unfortunately been the case to an alarming extent during the past fourteen years.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, Speech in the Kroll Opera House, 22 Feb. 1934. Bibl. II, 16A, p. 273.

¹ Martin Heidegger (1889-), philosopher; Professor at Freiburg and Marburg Universities.

² Joachim Haupt (1900-), schoolmaster; worked at numerous manual trades; worked in Prussian Ministry of Culture from 1933 and became Inspector.

SCIENCE AT SERVICE OF POLITICS

A SCIENCE restricting itself to empirical research into facts and to objectivity in describing historical personalities and developments abandons its national task of historico-political education.

PROF. VOIGTLÄNDER, at a meeting of the Federation for German History, Bremen, 4 Oct. 1935. Bibl. I, 48, p. 143.

“... The false idea of objectivity”, “the old idea of science based on the sovereign right of abstract intellectual activity has gone for ever”.

DR. RUST, Reich Minister of Education.
Address to the scholars gathered to celebrate Heidelberg's 550th anniversary, 1936.

FROM Munich shall the attack of German Science be carried forward against Western ideology.

PROF. WALTER FRANCK, President of the “Reichsinstitut für Geschichtsforschung”, Munich University, 19 Nov. 1936. Bibl. I, 48, p. 310.

MAY the young generation of scientists realise what is meant by the term ‘German Natural Science’! Should it be asked, how do we arrive at German Natural Science, we must answer: the meaning of a new National Socialist Science is to be found not by arbitrarily conjuring up dilettante world systems, but by plunging, full of awe, into Nature itself and its great Nordic scholars and pioneers, in order to find there the true German essence in glorious abundance. Moreover, let us keep away from anything that comes from the Jew and let us remain Germans and National Socialists in all our actions and meditations! Then everything will be all right!

PROF. B. THÜRING, “Kepler, Newton, Einstein —Ein Vergleich”, in *Deutsche Mathematik*, Dec. 1936, Vol. I, no. 6, p. 711.

WHEN Lord Rutherford and Niels Bohr constructed their model of the atom, Stark rejected their theory, not so much for factual reasons but on principle, because of its being based on the ideas and doctrines of Jewish physicists. But he did not want merely to criticise, he wanted to replace it by something better. Stark constructed his own atom model. It is particularly significant that its electron does not

take the global form developed by the Jewish physicist Abraham, but takes the shape of a vortex ring.

Berliner Tageblatt report of a lecture by Prof. Stark on "Physics and Jewry"; quoted in the *Jüdische Rundschau*, Berlin, 22 Jan. 1937.

EVERY scientist, etc., who has made a lecture tour or study trip abroad, must submit a report of his trip, together with two copies, to be kept in the files of the respective faculty or institution. I reserve the right to ask for these reports. Reports which contain important political or politico-cultural observations or suggestions must be sent to me immediately without special request.

Instructions issued by the Reichs-Minister of Science and Education. *Deutsche Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung*, Berlin, 20 April 1937, no. 8, p. 184.

I MUST protest at the cheap and clumsy allegation of our enemies to the effect that Germany wants to conquer the world. Assertions of this sort are only possible because there are nations who are as credulous as children. I have been working at the Führer's side for ten years. It is my belief that if he intended to conquer the world I could not but have heard of it. Transparent and ridiculous assertions like this are not only incompatible with the idea and the basic content of National Socialism, but are absolutely opposed to it.¹

DR. OTTO DIETRICH,² Speech at the German Academy at Prague, 21 Jan. 1941; *Völkischer Beobachter*, no. 22, 22 Jan. 1941, p. 4.

¹ *Ed. note.*—Dr. Dietrich further appealed to all spiritual forces to work in the service of truth for the future of the nations. For this high object the power of the press as the spiritual guide of the nations must be mobilised, in order to band together all the means and methods of human reason in the battle against retrogression.

² Otto Dietrich (1897–), politician and journalist; Chief of Reich Press and of National Socialist Party Press; member of Reichstag; chairman of Reich Association of German Journalists.

Section 5

THE GLORIFICATION OF WAR. THE POLICY OF FORCE AND MILITARISM

Men gradually strive to leave the state of barbarism, if only they are not kept in that state by artificial means.

I. KANT, *Works*, Inselverlag, Leipzig, Vol. I,
p. 170.

*For Man languishes in peace;
Indolent peace is the grave of courage;
Law is the friend of the weak,
It aims only to make all things equal;
It would like to reduce all the world to one level;
But War allows Might to reveal itself,
It raises everything above the commonplace,
It breeds courage even in the coward.*

F. VON SCHILLER, *Die Braut von Messina* (often
quoted by Bernhardt in his *Germany and
the Next War*).

Force creates right; war is a natural law.

OTTO VON BISMARCK.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Starting from the assumption that any means is permissible in order to realise German hegemony, with their principles, or rather lack of principles, in international policy the Germans reached several logical conclusions. The first was that the use of force, even if the opponent's attitude does not justify it, is the swiftest and surest road to the desired end. Hence thousands of pages in German literature are devoted to the glorification of war. Every national literature contains a host of patriotic pronouncements to the effect that the Motherland must be defended against attack, but these views do not go beyond the natural bounds of advocacy of defensive war. But the Germans glorify aggressive

war, since in their opinion it will bring Germany greatness and glory. The numerous quotations on this theme given in the following section are only an infinitesimal part of what German authors have written about war. The political and intellectual leaders of modern Germany regard war as not only a means of achieving German hegemony over the world, but also as a factor of progress and civilisation, a source of virtue and happiness. To emphasise the abyss which separates all other Europeans from Germans, the reader might look in his own national literature for opinions similar to those cited. When he realises that he cannot find them he will understand precisely why the phrase 'bracing and joyous war' was coined in Germany, why German soldiers are so ready to murder women and children and to set fire to towns, why the German airman is proud to tell his fellow-countrymen over the wireless of how he has bombed private houses in London, why without the least prickings of conscience the Germans have sent all over the world their film illustrating the destruction of Warsaw by the besieging German army, and finally, why Germans did not hesitate to let loose the second world war.

1. Only Offensive wars may be waged.

In a defensive war, all positions and all parallel marches are useless; they cannot oppose one obstacle to the enemy, as he will quickly realise. Defend a position, and no matter how strong it is, how well protected against a frontal attack, how well selected it may be to cover the country, the enemy will expel you. He will achieve that result rapidly by manœuvres on your flanks, especially if he is in superior force.

I can therefore boldly affirm, although this rule is new, that one should never wage a strictly defensive war, but that as early as possible one should adopt the rôle of aggressor, operating on the flanks and in the rear of the enemy.

2. Numerical advantage is decisive in modern warfare.

3. So it is number and mass, rather than valour and talent, which henceforth will assure victory.

4. The consequence of the foregoing exposition is: . . . The small States will be engulfed by the great Empires.

. . . 5. Thus the Great Powers will one day share all Europe.

If Europe consisted of only one great State in the midst of feeble States, the first would subjugate all the others and a 'universal monarchy' would be founded. As several empires exist, it is clear that Europe must be regarded as an 'aristocracy'.

On this score one must verily say once more: 'Unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have in abundance; but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.'

Therefore, the sooner Europe is shared among various powers separated by their natural frontiers the sooner will the reign of everlasting peace be established. Therefore it is desirable that this salutary operation should be accomplished as quickly as possible.

DIETRICH VON BÜLOW. 1805. Bibl. VI, 10,
pp. 259, 275.

. . . The pike which lie in wait for the carp in the European pond prevent our becoming fat carp, for they spur us on on all sides. They compel us to go on ahead, and also to remain united among ourselves, which is at bottom repugnant to the German nature: the Germans have rather the tendency to flee from one another. But the French pressure and the Russian pressure, between which we find ourselves gripped, render our union indispensable, and, by the pressure which they exercise upon us, they are developing our power of cohesion so

well that we shall end by being a nation as united and indissoluble as the others—which so far we have not been.

We must respond to this decree of Providence by becoming so powerful that the pike will have no effect on us and will do no more than stimulate our activity.

OTTO VON BISMARCK, Speech to the Reichstag,
6 Feb. 1888.

MARTIAL force is the basis of all the political virtues; in the rich treasure of Germany's glories the Prussian military glory is a jewel as precious, as loyally acquired as the masterpieces of our poets and our thinkers; the sacred character of the allegiance to the flag is a witness to the moral force of our people. Therefore let our Liberalism return to these ancient German convictions. . . .

Our military organisation remains a glorious manifestation of German political idealism; without admitting the fact, all our neighbours regret that they have not been able, some because of the inadequacy of their culture, others because of their extreme individualism, to imitate these institutions with complete success.

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE. 1869-71. Bibl. V, 202 (b),
Vol. iii, p. 466.

THERE is in Prussia another tutelary power: it is the army, a political force to the value of which current theories on the Constitution have seldom done full justice. It is in the absurd judgements which it passes on the very essence of war and of the army that our Liberalism reveals its most disturbing weakness; here all the extent of the misery which its cult of the small State engenders has come to light.

. . . In this world of labour, the desire to play blindly with peace has been exalted into a doctrine. This doctrine has become the shame of the thought and morality of our age; innumerable phrases so clear, so limpid, that everybody has repeated them, have been coined, but they are so puerile, so stupid that all men worthy of the name have thrown them overboard as soon as war in all its majesty appeared among the peoples.

. . . Theological distortion is only very little responsible for such errors; every important theologian recognises that the Biblical command, 'Thou shalt not kill', must no more be taken literally than the apostolic exhortation, 'Give your goods to the poor.' Only a few timorous visionaries have closed their eyes to the splendour with

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which the Old Testament celebrates the sovereign beauty of a just and holy war.

But a danger serious in another direction menaces the present day; it is the exclusive reign of sentiment, the thoughtless compassion of those effeminate natures who cannot console themselves for the unspeakable miseries which war lets loose on humanity. It actively musters all the common bonds of sentimentality *à la* Rousseau, and it weeps as pathetically as the Moor over the mischance of this world where it is criminal to rob the poor but sublime to take possession of a crown.

. . . War is not only a practical necessity, it is also a theoretical necessity, an exigency of logic. The concept of the State implies the concept of war, for the essence of the State is power. The State is the people organised in sovereign power.

Its first mission is to assure its own existence, to protect itself against external and internal enemies.

War, it is true, makes the nations strangers to one another, and nevertheless to some extent it brings them closer, by forcing them to know their own resources and those of their neighbours; war is sometimes a more efficacious intermediary among peoples than universal commerce itself. A people which becomes attached to the chimerical hope of perpetual peace finishes irremediably by decaying in its proud isolation.

. . . That war should ever be banished from the world is a hope not only absurd, but profoundly immoral. Imagine, it would involve the atrophy of many of the essential and sublime forces of the human soul, and would transfer the globe into a vast temple of egoism.

H. VON TREITSCHKE, *ibid.*

THAT is the morally sublime feature of war, that each man surrenders his entire *ego* to a great patriotic idea; that is why no real idealism is possible without the idealism of war.

H. VON TREITSCHKE, *ibid.* (3rd ed., 1915),
p. 474.

I CANNOT recognise any other source of Right than force.

PROF. WILHELM OSTWALD.¹ 1894. In
*Energetic Foundations of Science and
Civilization.*

¹ Wilhelm Ostwald (1853-1932), chemist; Nobel Prize winner, 1909. Director, Physico-chemical Institute, Leipzig.

No State could logically admit any Tribunal higher than itself, whose decisions it would have to accept, without in fact disappearing. Among States war only can reign. Conflict is the very essence and rule of the relations between States: friendship is only fortuitous and exceptional.

Between State and State there is no law. A law being only an infinitely superior force, a State which recognised it would be admitting its weakness. It would be only a tolerated community, grotesquely pretending to be a State without the power to exercise a State's essential function, which is to repulse constraint by force. . . .

A small State has a right to exist only in proportion to its powers of resistance. . . . Among States, there is only one force of law: the law of the strongest. . . . So it is perfectly reasonable that wars have occurred between States.

The State may not be called upon for either pity or benevolence. Prudence alone dictates that others may be damaged only so far as considerable advantage results to the aggressor from that damage.

A State is unable to commit any crime. . . . It is not a question of right, it is a question of interest to observe treaties. . . . Whoever has the power can create a new state of things which will be as much the law as that which preceded. Despite all treaties, the weak are the prey of the strong, as soon as the latter wish this and can effect it. . . . This state of things can even be qualified as moral, since it is rational. . . .

The State which is organised for peace alone is not a true State; it demonstrates its full significance only by its preparedness for war. . . . The law is the friend of the weak. . . .

The absence of preparation for war in any people is a sign of physical and moral decadence. . . .

The national State, which is the highest form of culture and of the race, can be constituted only by the destruction of other States, which can be logically achieved only by violence. . . .

No poet could incarnate the character of an age, of a people . . . better than the warrior, who gives visible expression to that which is, whose every step crushes a world, whose decisions are demonstrated by the complexity of movements of an arm, and whose every thought sets fire to cities, prostrates peoples in the dust, devastates countries and drives armies before him. . . .

Certainly it is possible in politics to adjourn questions, but, if the occasion arises, then he who has the force and feels himself ready deter-

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mines questions by the sword; in the case of great historical questions that is the sole rational and lasting solution.

PROF. ADOLF LASSON.¹ 1868. Bibl. VIII, A. 49,
cf. Bibl. I, 39 (a), pp. 11, 14, 16-18, 29,
37, 66, 105, 130.

WAR can be made for political interests, never for an 'idea'. That would be the inversion of all the healthy bases of State life.

ADOLF LASSON, *ibid.*, p. 61.

THE ever-present threat of war is of the greatest benefit to the human race.

ADOLF LASSON. 1882. Bibl. VIII, A. 50, p. 410.

WAR has been declared! . . . The war of 1870 is a war for Socialism. And every German who flings himself against the disturber of the peace is fighting not only for the Fatherland, but against the principal enemy of the ideas of the future, for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

Sozialdemokrat, 17 July 1870.

. . . It is true that the war which has to found 'Central Europe' cannot break out at the first excuse to hand, and all we can do is to get the people accustomed to the idea that this war will come.

PAUL ANTON DE LAGARDE,² 1853. *Drei Vorreden*.
In Bibl. V, 97, pp. 83 ff.

I HAVE tried to demonstrate that the warrior spirit and organised military valour constitutes an important element in culture of the better sort, and so far I have attempted only to demonstrate that it would be impossible to conceive of the personality of Aryans, and in particular of Germans, as an agent and product of culture, if they did not possess a lively sentiment of honour.

Now the attentive reader will recognise that I have not bewildered him with superfluous digressions, but that, in revealing that the sentiment of honour is the keystone of all superior culture, I have thus

¹ Adolf Lasson (1832-1917), philosopher; Professor (hon.) at Berlin University.

² Paul Anton de Lagarde (pseudonym for Bötticher) (1827-91), Orientalist, philologist and politician; Professor of Oriental Languages at Halle and Göttingen Universities. In advocating a Greater Germany, he demanded a national religion. National-Socialists call him 'an advance-guard of the Third Reich'.

demonstrated that the warrior spirit and military valour are an indispensable element of that culture. Therefore, we can also regard as the idle fantasies of sick minds all the arguments which derive from the 'good sense' of any democrat, the sentimental whims of a Bertha von Suttner, the insipid Christianity of a Tolstoy, or, finally, the non-Aryan way of feeling of the Jews, whereby they try to persuade us that war and the profession of arms are shameful barbarism.

But we also understand that the truly healthy sentiment of honour, which is as far distant from French hyperaestheticism as from Chinese pachydermy, and which implies the strictest respect for others' sentiment of honour, must constitute the line of demarcation, of clean separation between war which is mere sanguinary brutality and that which is a moral force of the first order.

FRIEDRICH LANGE.¹ 1904. *Bibl.* VIII, E. 9, pp. 222-3.

... Among the peoples of white race themselves, the sword will remain the arbiter of their value and that in virtue of the mission which divine Providence, revealing itself in universal history, has placed in the breast of the peoples of white race.

FRIEDRICH LANGE. 1904. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

WE have always preserved a childlike heart in our most intimate sentiments; we are naïve in our joys and simple in our tastes, despite all the individual degeneracies; we always have procreative force, and our race multiplies to such an extent that for a long time our soil has not sufficed to nourish the totality of our compatriots. Thus it is more urgent than ever to remain warriors, for who knows whether the migration of the Germanic peoples will remain an isolated example in history? The peoples who surround us are either over-ripe fruit which the first storm will send down from the tree, such as the Turks, the Greeks, the Spaniards, the Portuguese and a large proportion of the Slavs, or else they are haughty and proud of their race, like the French, but possess a culture too refined and increasing with extreme parsimony, while giving proof of an immeasurable ambition; or else, while bragging, like the English and Americans, of their inaccessible domain they forget too much the sentiment of justice and make their own egotism the measure of all things.

Who knows whether we Germans may not have as our mission the chastisement and curing of all these depravities, and whether it will

¹ Friedrich Lange, considered in Germany as a "liberal" writer.

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not be our duty to draw the sword anew, like our distant ancestors, in order to set out to seek territories for our surplus population?

But, even if that does not become a necessity, the work of social regeneration which we are actually undertaking, in the name of the moral ideal of our people, might force us to impose the remedy of economic reorganisation upon other nations. For all these reasons it is necessary that the flamboyant glory of our warrior spirit and of our military valour should not rust; that is why we have the duty of daily strengthening in us that which fortunately we have saved from the Christian influence, and that towards which an innate penchant urges every one of us: the warrior valour.

FRIEDRICH LANGE, *ibid.*, p. 157.

To us Germans the possibility of the abolition of war can arise only, if at all, when the German Reich, that is, the All-German Reich in the widest sense, has become the principal State, the supreme power, in the world.

Heimdall, 1898, pp. 137-8.

... In practice, however, I will in future rely and call upon God and my sharp sword alone. And I sh... (*ich scheisse*) on all the resolutions.

WILHELM II, manuscript note on a document.
Bibl. II, 16, Vol. xv, p. 306.

THAT Germany should be armed to the teeth, possessing a strong fleet, is of the utmost importance to the working classes. What damages our exports damages them also, and workers have the most pressing interest in securing prosperity for our export trade, be it even by force of arms. Owing to her development Germany may perhaps be obliged to maintain her position sword in hand. ...

Sozialistische Monatshefte,¹ Dec. 1899.

WAR to-day is ... more humane, but being more rare, *it has become more upsetting for the flabby peoples unaccustomed to war*. Hence it is to-day more *effective*, and a clever war policy to-day accomplishes by means of a war lasting a few months things very different from those formerly accomplished by devastating wars lasting for years. One

¹ Organ of the German Socialist Revisionists (1819-1933).

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more reason why the bold and skilful should make use of this means without scruple, when the stake is worth the prize.

ANONYMOUS, *Deutschland bei Beginn des 20 Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1900, pp. 206-7, quoted in Bibl. II, 22, Vol. 2, p. 314.

A FAR-SIGHTED statesman must say to himself: Let us try, by means of a great European war, of which we are more capable than any other Continental nation, to strengthen our position and make it secure for ever.

Ibid., pp. 190-1.

THE lowest form of war is a *war of extermination*, when, the territory itself counting for little, the extermination of the adversary is the only goal. Some of them are killed, the survivors reduced to slavery. The territory is deserted or falls to the victor as a sort of accessory gain. *Wars of plunder* are its next of kin; the defeated nation is robbed of all its possessions; the like, *wars of conquest proper*, when the vanquished loses not only his territory but also his independence.

FRIEDRICH RATZEL.¹ 1903. Bibl. VIII, E. 14, p. 93.

WE do not want to fall into the error of singing the *praises* of the peace which, owing to the activity of our German policy, is assured in Europe at least. . . . But above all, wherever German affairs are in question, one may and must speak of other things than our unwillingness to draw the sword. On the contrary, the whole world must believe that we are ready at any time to draw the sword, even when anyone dares to give us only a rap over the knuckles.

ERNST HASSE, Statement to the Alldeutscher Verband Conference at Worms, 1903. *Alldeutsche Blätter*, no. 25, 1905.

IF we recognise the necessity of development, we must also recognise the *necessity of war*; we must proclaim war, a war which will last as long as there are existence and evolution on the earth; we must proclaim perpetual war.

The song of songs of perpetual war,—a call to alarm, an appeal to

¹ Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904), Professor of Geography at Munich Technical High School and at Leipzig University.

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joy for the strong, a strident knell for the weak—will sound like thunder until the last day.

KLAUS WAGNER. 1906. Bibl. V, 203, pop. ed. 1907, p. 130.

WAR is the sole equitable judgement. It is the natural selection in which the perfect Germanic peoples triumph over the peoples of lesser value, imperfect and feeble, who are consumed in unjustified efforts at internal selection.

War makes room for the fittest at the expense of the feeble. Without war all development of the peoples is impossible. These truths have so far left our good pacifists cold.

. . . The inferior races must disappear and will disappear before the superior race, not by fire and iron, but in virtue of the law of selection.

. . . All nature is unequal, all culture is unequal, personal.

. . . Equality is only a lubrication of the human brain.

KLAUS WAGNER. 1906. Bibl. V, 16A, pp. 129-30.

UNLESS we choose to shut our eyes to the necessity of evolution, we must recognise the *necessity of war*. We must accept war, which will last as long as development and existence; we must accept eternal war.

KLAUS WAGNER, *ibid.*, p. 153.

ONLY over the black gate of the cemetery . . . can we read the words: 'Eternal peace for all peoples'. For peoples who live and strive, the only maxim and motto must be eternal war.

KLAUS WAGNER, *ibid.*, p. 217.

WAR causes more happiness than misery.

S. R. STEINMETZ.¹ 1907. Bibl. VIII, D. 204, p. 338.

WHAT was the attitude of the nations to war while they were young and vigorous, and what was, and is, the attitude of tired civilised nations! We know. What we often forget is that to tired and exhausted nations war is above all an unhappy, frequently the last, way out; to vigorous races it is on the border line of sport.

DR. F. KÜHNER, review of *Philosophie des Kriegeres*, by Dr. Steinmetz, in *Politisch-Antropologische Revue*, 1908, p. 270.

¹ Sebald Rudolf Steinmetz (1862-), Dutch ethnologist; Lecturer at Utrecht University; Professor of Social Geography at Amsterdam. Closely linked up with Germany, he published many of his works in German.

THE bomb must burst, this struggle for supremacy in the economic life of Europe will certainly not end mildly! We long for the hour, for it is the re-birth of all the German virtues. Honestly and frankly do we desire war.

Heimdall, 1907, pp. 49-50.

GERMAN expansion will be achieved by war.

. . . Nothing is more immoral than to consider and to treat war as an immoral thing. 'Strife is the mother of all things' (Empedocles). It is the mathematical test which has to be applied to the problem of the total energy of a people. And there is nothing more moral than collective egoism, than the people's instinct of self-preservation. 'Supplant or be supplanted: all life is in that' (Goethe).

ERNST HASSE. 1908. Bibl. V, 75 (d), pp. 126 ff.

PROBABLY in no country is war so popular as in Germany, and the older generation, who regard war as the arena of glory and honour, are seeing to it that it remains so. German youth dreams only of war, plays only the game of war.

TH. KÄMMERER, *Der bevorstehende Weltkrieg als Vorläufer des Weltfriedens*, in *Hochaktuell*, no. 3, p. 6, 1909.

WAR is the touchstone of a people, and that which is rotten perishes.

PROF. K. VON STENGEL.¹ 1909. Bibl. VIII, D. 206A, p. 111.

WAR remains the last remedy, but will not come yet. We must be patient. . . .

When others become old, we shall become a State! Hail to the All-German future!

Heimdall, 1910, p. 48.

NOR a community of men of free will, but *victorious war*, is the social ideal . . . it is in war that the State displays its true nature.

E. KAUFMANN.² 1911. Bibl. VIII, D. 102, quoted i, 30, p. 411.

¹ Karl Baron von Stengel (1840-1930), jurist; Supreme Court counsel at Mulhausen (Alsace); Professor of Administrative Law at Breslau; German Representative at the first Hague Peace Conference.

² Erich Kaufmann (1880-), jurist; Professor of Public Law at Königsberg and Berlin Universities.

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... it has been established beyond all doubt that regular war is not only the broadest and noblest solution imaginable, but also the periodically indispensable solution for the preservation of the State and society.

Alldeutsche Blätter, 1911, p. 399.

IF, then, the study of the facts in the light of the biological principle of natural science convinces us that war is a necessary factor of evolution, we also arrive at the same result when we consider the question from the moral aspect; for war is not only a biological necessity, it is also, in certain cases, a *moral obligation*, and, as such, an *indispensable factor of civilisation*.

F. VON BERNHARDI.¹ 1911. Bibl. VI, 7, p. 62.

WITHOUT war... inferior and degenerate races would only too easily suppress, by *mass and financial power*, the sound, virile elements, and general decay would result. The creative power of war lies in its selectiveness.

F. VON BERNHARDI. 1912. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

IT is in *selection* that the creative force of war resides. For *war*, and *only war*, operates that selection. It is a biological necessity, an indispensable regulator in the life of humanity; for, without it, an unhealthy evolution would be achieved, excluding all progress of the species and, in consequence, all real 'Kultur'.

F. VON BERNHARDI. 1911. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

THE duties and obligations of the German people... cannot be fulfilled without drawing the sword.

F. VON BERNHARDI. 1914. Bibl. VI, 9, p. 15.

WAR is an instrument of progress, a regulator in the life of humanity, an indispensable factor of civilisation, a creative power.

F. VON BERNHARDI. Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 101.

WE Germans must once again learn to think of War as our saviour and healer; without war no cure is possible.

Tägliche Rundschau,² Nov. 1912.

¹ Friedrich von Bernhardi (1849-1930), Prussian General and military writer; famous for his *Germany and the Next War* (1913). Bracketed with Treitschke as spiritual leader of Pan-German nationalism.

² Organ of the National-Liberal Party; ceased publication in 1933.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY has . . . never failed to realise that the geographical and political situation of the Reich renders the establishment of a strong Army necessary.

Social Democratic Party Pamphlet, *Ein ernstes Wort in ernster Zeit*, 1913.

ON the whole, modern war may be regarded as a capitalistic enterprise. This is a point of view which ought not to be disguised, but, on the contrary, fully and frankly upheld, if we are to find economic justification for war and armaments. . . .

War is no longer waged in the interest of the public treasury, but in the interest of the economic development of the State. It is waged with the object of intervening in the general economic conflict. . . . We must judge wars not by the speeches with which they are opened, but by the clauses with which they are closed.

FRIEDRICH NAUMANN.¹ Bibl. V, 120, pp. 263-4.

COMMERCE must be obtained by force of arms. . . . The policy of a great Reich can be based only on the old Roman saying: *Oderint dum metuant*.

Der Reichsbote, May 1913.

WAR is the most sublime and sacred manifestation of human action . . . for us, too, the glad, great hour of a struggle will strike one day. . . . Quietly and deeply must the joy of war and the longing for it live in the German heart. . . . Yes, war is beautiful.

Jungdeutschlands Post, Jan. 1913.

A GO-AHEAD people like ourselves, developing at such a rate, needs new land for its energies, and if peace does not provide it, then there is only war left. To foster this realisation is the task of the *Wehrverein* (Defence Association). . . . Let the appeal to arms remain a sacred right of the people. The *Wehrverein* demands of the Government the kind of rearmament that will enable us to achieve a rapid victory without too great sacrifices in blood.

GENERAL VON WROCHEM, in *Danziger Neueste Nachrichten*, 6 March 1913.

¹ Friedrich Naumann (1860-1919), evangelical theologian; politician; Pastor to the Home Mission at Frankfurt-am-Main, afterwards writer in Berlin. In 1896 founded the National Social Union. Member of the Reichstag. During 1914-18 war put forward a 'Central Europe' programme of economic organisation.

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BUT let us cast our eyes back over the period since the death of Bismarck and remember the attacks and attempts at encirclement that have been made against us, now from the East, now from the West, now overseas! Let us further remember the repeated halts, groans and recessions with which the cart of our foreign policy had to be pushed forward because the whole world considered it its duty to build barriers against Germany's world political exits and entrances! Again, let us ask ourselves what experience has taught us. It has taught us one thing, and one thing only: now that our enemies, like robbers and murderers, have fallen upon us, the most peaceful of people, this war must not end otherwise than with a free path to our highest national aims.

PAUL ROHRBACH.¹ 1914. Bibl. V, 157, p. 25.

WHOEVER loves his people and wishes to hasten the crisis of the present sickness, must yearn for *war* as the awakener of all that is good, healthy and strong in the nation.

DANIEL FRYMANN.² 1914. Bibl. V, 20, p. 53.

THE truth is, we are the people in arms: army and people are one.

DR. ALOIS RIEHL.³ 1914. Bibl. VIII, A. 55, p. 6.

GERMANY and Austria are united for the most just war . . . that history has ever seen; but one battalion is lacking from the mobilisation. We, the children banished from Germany, wish to be this battalion.

Manifesto of the German Jesuits, published in the *Reichspost*, 1914. Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 135.

WE Social Democrats in this solemn hour are at one with the whole German nation, without distinction of party or creed, in accepting the fight forced upon us by Russian barbarism, and we are ready to fight till the last drop of blood for Germany's national independence, fame and greatness.

Der Volksfreund, Karlsruhe, 1 Aug. 1914.

¹ Paul Rohrbach (1869-), geographical and political author; originally a theologian; Commissary for Colonization in German South-West Africa before 1914; prominent in formation of German 'world policy'.

² See note [Heinrich Class], p. 26.

³ Alois Riehl (1844-1924), philosopher; Professor of Philosophy at Graz, Freiburg, Halle and Berlin Universities.

. . . This war has not been forced on us by surprise; we have desired it, and it was our bounden duty thus to desire it. Germany wages war because of her immutable conviction that greater world expansion and freer outlets are due to her by right of her own works.

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN,¹ *Zukunft*, Nov. 1914.

OUR future, even more than our past, will be under the banner of militarism, that is, the peace-time co-ordination of the existence and life-work of the individual, as well as the community, from the viewpoint of the necessity and possibility of the utmost exertion in the martial defence of our vital national requirements.

PROF. KARL JACOB. 1915. Bibl. VIII, B. 42, p. 27.

YES, we are a military country and want to remain so because we *must* if our homeland is not to become the prey of our neighbours again; because it is only military education that has given us the characteristics which, together with intellectual ability, we must have if we are to survive.

PROF. WILHELM VON BLUME.² 1915.
Bibl. VIII, D. 19.

AND since we are what we are, we must not hope to become favoured in the eyes of others, to whom this character is foreign. We will overcome our enemies and will also master their lies; we will be respected in the world—but love we can expect only from those who are akin to us. However, no German must ever contemplate the renunciation, for the sake of other nations, of that which guarantees the preservation of our particular character and which is perhaps its most beautiful manifestation—that is, German militarism.

PROF. W. VON BLUME, *ibid.*, pp. 25–6.

WAR means the State in its most actual growth and rise: it means politics.

PROF. MAX SCHELER. 1915. Bibl. VIII, A. 56;
cf. Bibl. I, 30, p. 411.

WE welcome this war also as a God-sent salvation!

For a just war is not simply a wrecker, but also a builder. It does not simply destroy, but also produces values. The most violent of all

¹ Maximilian Harden (1861–1927), author; editor of *Zukunft* (1892); a violent critic of Kaiser Wilhelm II and the conduct of the war of 1914–18 from the German aspect.

² Professor of Law at Tübingen University.

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culture annihilators is simultaneously the mightiest of all culture bringers.

OTTO VON GIERKE.¹ 1914. Bibl. VIII, D. 76, p. 7.

AND now certainly our ignoble, misused love of peace has been transformed into a militant resolution. Now we desire war, and desire it in all its extent and violence. Neither fear nor compassion shall paralyse our arm, until it has finally struck down the forces of our enemy.

OTTO VON GIERKE, *ibid.*, p. 4.

THE war of 1870-1 brought us a Kaiser and Reich and therewith brilliant progress in our State life. The war of 1914-15 will finally secure us a place in world politics and world economy, the place to which our military, our cultural, our organisational, economic, technical and social achievements have in very truth conferred on us a sacred claim.

HEINRICH HERKNER.² 1915. Bibl. VIII, D. 90,
pp. 29-30.

BOTH in its moral and in its economic and social aspects war is not only a power of death and annihilation. This very 'motivator of human destiny' . . . is also among the most effective levers of our national economic development, and the rulers of our national economy must be struck with blindness if they cannot recognise the creative, constructive force also in war.

HEINRICH HERKNER, *ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

THE 'military' spirit is akin to the spirit of 'art'. . . . How the hearts of our poets were immediately set on fire, once war was declared. . . . German militarism is the manifestation of German morality. . . . After a German defeat German 'militarism' would leave Europe no rest until Germany had reconquered her old position. . . . The militarism inherent in the German soul, its ethical conservatism, its soldier-like morality—an element of daemonism and heroism, this it is which refuses to recognise the civilian spirit as a final ideal of mankind.

THOMAS MANN, 1915. Bibl. I, 30, pp. 514-15.

BUT the Hohenzollerns have created the *people's army*. They have restored the *old Teutonic people's army*.

DR. HANS SCHREUER. 1915. Bibl. VIII, D. 180, p. 13.

¹ Otto von Gierke (1841-1921), Geheimrat, Professor of Law at Berlin University.

² Heinrich Herkner (1863-1932), economist; Professor at Berlin University.

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If the signatories of this petition, and especially the representatives of science, art and the Church among them, should be reproached that in the present petition they have raised only political and economic demands, relying upon force, and that they have forgotten the spiritual problems of Germany's future, there should be a threefold answer:

The care of the German spirit is no part of Germany's war aims or of Germany's peace conditions.

The German spirit is for us the treasure of treasures, the most precious possession of the nation and the source of its superiority among the other nations. Still, it is clear that before attending to Germany's spirit we must enable the country to live in political and economic security. Only then can we cultivate our spiritual treasures with the necessary freedom.

Lastly, we would say to those who think of the German spirit as an abstraction divorced from power, to those who wish to pursue what is called a policy of culture pure and simple, that we do not wish for a spirituality which means disintegration and decay, that we do not wish for unnational cosmopolitanism (*wurzelloser Volksgeist*), which everywhere vainly tries to find a home, and which falsifies the national character because it lacks a healthy national body. With our demands we wish to create a healthy body within which the German spirit may dwell. The enlargement of the German body politic which we demand will not harm, but will benefit the German spirit, provided that the increase is effected under the precautions which we have indicated.

Petition to the Reich Chancellor, passed on
6 June 1915, signed by 1,347 signatories.¹

... but it must be recalled that in addition to Bebel and Liebknecht there were other Social Democrats sitting in the North German Reichstag: Fritzsche, Hasenclever and von Schweitzer. But they voted for the proposal. Thus it is the naked historical fact that at the voting on 19 July 1870, the *majority* of the Social Democratic representatives also voted *in favour* of the war credits.

EDUARD DAVID, *Die Sozialdemokratie im Weltkrieg*, Berlin, 1915, p. 26.

¹ I.e. 352 professors of High schools, 158 teachers and clergymen, 145 high officials, 148 magistrates and barristers-at-law, 40 Reichstag and Landtag members, 18 generals and admirals, 182 representatives of commerce and banking, 52 landowners, 252 artists, writers and editors.

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You cannot wage war with sentimentality. The more ruthlessly war is conducted, the more merciful is it in fact, for it finishes the war the sooner.

VON HINDENBURG, in a conversation, Nov.
1914. Bibl. VIII, D. 44, p. 12.

THE reconstruction of German air power lies in the distant future. . . . If one day the German people rises out of the fog of party conflict to the peak of national unity, then the German airman will move his wings and the old saying will once more come true:

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.

GENERAL VON HOEPPNER. Bibl. VI, 28, p. 180.

WE desired the war because we considered it necessary in view of the wrong path our people threatened to take in their development.

GENERAL VON GEBSATTEL, Cavalry General on active list; Baron; Vice-Chairman of the Pan-German Association. In *Panther*, Oct. 1915, pp. 1178-9.

SINCE Germany incarnates the progressive principle, she is sure of victory. Germany will conquer, and the world will be ruled by the militaristic spirit. Anyone who likes to regret the fact and give voice to lamentations may do so; to desire to hinder it is a folly and a crime against the genius of history. England and France will still come to repent bitterly that they have opposed it.

N. GOLDMANN.¹ 1915. Bibl. IX, 47.

. . . We may venture to say: the blend of the democratic with the aristocratic results in the idea of the organism. Theoretically and practically it proves itself the leading conception of militarism.

But at the same time this idea is one of the most significant and fruitful ideas of all German philosophy, of the entire German spirit. . . .

To have the idea of the organism recognised and proclaimed in all its details, constitutes the greatest achievement of the German spirit; to have the idea of the organism more perfectly realised than all other existing structures of society constitutes the greatest achievement of

¹ The author of this pamphlet, Nachum Goldmann (born 1894 in Wiszniewo) was by birth a Russian Jew; he went to Berlin in his early youth, and having become a German in thought and sentiment he wrote this striking pamphlet on behalf of a German patriotic organisation.

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the militaristic spirit. The militaristic and the German spirit are fundamentally identical.

N. GOLDMANN, *ibid.*

THAT is the glorious thing in German culture with all its light and shade, that it has prepared such a war and such a value for that war, a war in which only the metaphysical current of the creative life has been registered and thereafter reacted to by the German soul above the economic aspect of the war. And German music has not been among the least of the factors co-operating to ensure this. We would not have so great a war, in which a whole world is fighting against us, if we had not such great music, and we would not have such great music if we could not be compelled to the utmost of our capability to wage such a great war against a whole world.

FRANZ BACHMANN. 1915. Bibl. X, 1.

THREE lessons above all will we draw. The first derives from the absolute confidence that we can put our far-famed 'Militarismus' to the test. . . . No, we will not follow the good advice of our enemies and do away with our militarism.

PROF. WILHELM WUNDT. Bibl. VIII, A. 72, p. 131.

THE voice of our national conscience tells us what German militarism really is: the best item in our political, national and ethnical development.

ERNST VON BÜLOW. 1916.
Bibl. IX, 17, p. 155.

THERE is no demand in Germany for Parliamentaryism . . . Germany needs militarism more than Parliamentaryism . . . The introduction of the West-European concept of freedom would constitute a British success and the decay of Prussian militarism.

COUNT YORCK VON WARTENBURG in the Prussian
Upper House, 9 March 1917. Bibl. II,
11, Vol. 1, pp. 545-6.

WE *cannot* do without militarism, that's all.

— BAERECKE, Deputy of German National
People's Party, Speech in the National
Assembly, 25 Feb. 1919. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1,
p. 574.

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THE *Erfurt Program of Social Democracy* demands in Point 3: *Education for universal military service. A Volk's Army instead of the standing army.*

Unfortunately, all practical work towards this aim is at present rendered impossible. For the Peace Treaty of 1919 not only prescribes the strength of the German Army, but also expressly demands that the Army should be formed on a mercenary system reminiscent of the Middle Ages. . . .

Handbuch für sozialdemokratische Wähler, ed.
Vorwärts, Berlin, 1920, p. 85.

Draft for a Composition on the Advantages of War

I. For the Nation:

1. War is the antidote for the weeds of peace, during which rationalism supersedes idealism and puts everything to sleep.
2. Patriotism is awakened and a sacred enthusiasm for the Fatherland is enkindled.
3. The victorious nation obtains the position of power, the prestige and influence due to it; the honour of the vanquished nation is not affected at all if it has defended itself heroically.
4. The peoples learn to know each other better and to respect each other. There is an exchange of ideas, of opinions, of points of view.
5. Trade finds new avenues, often favourable ones.
6. It gives art, and particularly poetry and painting, excellent subjects.

II. For the citizens:

1. War gives them an opportunity to develop their talents; without war the world would have fewer great men.
2. It enables many virtues to assert themselves.
3. Religious sentiment revives both in the victor and the vanquished.
4. Many active people are afforded an opportunity to make great fortunes.
5. It is sweet to die for the Fatherland. The enemy's dead live in the memory of the victor.

Der deutsche Aufsatz in den Hochschulen
(Manual for teachers), by K. Dorenwall
and Prof. Dr. A. Vögeler, Chief Educational Counsellor, Vol. iii, 6th edn., 1927,
lesson no. 158, p. 362.

. . . That which is refused to mildness, belongs to the fist of the conqueror. If our ancestors had formerly made their decisions dependent upon the present absurd pacifist mentality we would not possess altogether a third of our present national soil, and the German people would no longer have to care for their future in Europe! No, it is to their resolute attitude in the struggle for existence that we owe the two Marches of the East of the Reich and, furthermore, this internal force which constitutes the territorial grandeur of our State and our people, grandeur which moreover has alone permitted us to subsist down to the present day.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 127.

NEVER allow two continental powers to arise in Europe.

Regard any attempt to organise a second military power on the frontiers of Germany—even if only in the form of a State capable of gaining such power—as an attack upon Germany. Consider it not only your right, but your duty to prevent the constitution of such a State by all means, if necessary by arms. If it already exists, destroy it.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 541.

It is impossible to build up an army and give it a sense of worth if the object of its existence is not the preparation for war. Armies for the preservation of peace do not exist; they exist only for the triumphant exertion of war.

ADOLF HITLER, *National-Sozialistische Monatshefte*, no. 3, 1930.

THE only instrument with which one can conduct foreign policy is alone and exclusively—the sword.

DR. JOSEPH GOEBBELS, *Der Angriff*,¹
28 May 1931.

To kill the martial spirit and will deliberately and systematically is to act against the divine will. The vague and insincere pacifism which denies its own people, created by God, in favour of the abstract notion of a so-called humanity . . . is also contrary to the divine will. . . .

DÖRING, former chaplain to the Imperial Court,
in *Das andere Deutschland*, 14 Feb. 1931.

¹ Nazi organ, founded in 1927.

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WAR represents the essence of things. . . . The soldier is the prototype and the supreme expression of the national character.

CARL SCHMITT.¹ 1932-38. Bibl. VIII, D. 173, pp. 139-42.

WE ourselves must become masters of our destiny and energetically prepare for war. No man able to think can ever doubt that between Germany's future happiness and our present misery there must be a war. But war in our time is no longer the bright and joyful war of the days of yore with music and colours flying. To-day war is a bloody struggle of destruction. It means gas, tanks, the terror of air attacks, privation and famine, agitation and lies, resignation and sacrifices. But a nation can stand its ground and win the war if every one of its people is convinced deep in his heart that his life does not belong to him but to the State, to the State alone.

EWALD BANSE,² in a lecture to the High School of Technology, Brunswick, 1933. Bibl. I, 48, pp. 72-3.

PEACE is the ideal condition, but it carries with it the risk of stagnation and somnolence; war, on the contrary, is the great stimulant and uplifter, quickening the whole pace of existence and opening up a completely different and, in most cases, novel world of ideas.

E. BANSE. Bibl. VIII, E. 3, p. 6.

I REPEAT what I have already explained before the foreign Press: we have done the most important thing for world peace: we have rearmed.

HERMANN GOERING, at Freiburg, 10 May 1935.
Bibl. I, 48, p. 70.

A UNIVERSAL organisation in which there is no place for warlike preservation and destruction of human existence, would be neither a State nor an Empire: it would lose all political character.

PROF. C. SCHMITT. Bibl. I, 30, p. 411.

¹ Carl Schmitt (1888-), Professor of Constitutional Law at Greifswald, Bonn, Berlin and Cologne Universities; the theoretical spokesman of the Totalitarian State.

² Ewald Banse (1883-), geographer; joined National Socialist Party, 1932; geographical explorations in North Africa and Asia Minor, 1906-14; Professor of Geography, Hanover Technical High School; achieved some fame with his *Raum und Volk im Weltkriege* (1933); translated as *Germany Prepares for War* (1934); co-editor of *Brockhaus Lexicon*.

THE GLORIFICATION OF WAR

THE German people of Poets and Thinkers has become the nation of Poets and Soldiers.

BALDUR VON SCHIRACH, *Hakenkreuzbanner*,
15 June 1938.

WE believe in force. The fact that we have the strongest army is a security against war.

DR. GOEBBELS, Exhibition Hall, Cologne,
19 May 1939. Bibl. I, 48, p. 71.

. . . I am—he said—50 years old: I prefer war now to when I would be 55 or 60.

. . . It is England which is fighting for lesser races, whereas I am fighting only for Germany. . . .

ADOLF HITLER to Sir N. Henderson, British
Ambassador in Berlin, 24 Aug. 1939.
British Blue Book, p. 101.

THE best type of German, the type which determines soldiership, is no particular friend of absolute security and the ensuing quiet. Although his conscientiousness protects him against reckless play, he feels all the same attracted to a 'dangerous life', as Ernst Jünger puts it. . . . Nothing has proved more clearly that soldiership is the very kernel of the German nature, than the fact that the newly established comprehensive and general way of German life had to originate from the spirit of soldiership.

Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, 8 Oct. 1940.

Section 6

NECESSITY KNOWS NO LAW. GERMANY AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

I begin by taking, I shall find scholars afterwards to demonstrate my perfect right.

FREDERICK THE GREAT.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In the German philosophy based on the glorification of force there is no place for too deep a respect for right, and for international right in particular. For the Germans an international agreement has only a transitory value for just so long as they cannot enforce their will on their co-signatories. It is not surprising that in Germany the clause rebus sic stantibus is regarded as implicit in every international treaty. The Germans have always given this clause an interpretation highly favourable to themselves, since in their view it connotes the right to unilateral abrogation of a treaty immediately the interests of the Reich require it, or the strength of Germany allows it.

Given such an attitude of contempt for the value of one's word, if it has been given to a foreign nation, it is possible to understand the astonishment of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, who in his memorable conversation with the British Ambassador, Sir Edward Goschen, on 4 August 1914 made the famous remark: "Just for a word—'neutrality'—a word which has so often been disregarded in wartime—just for a scrap of paper Great Britain is going to make war on a kindred nation which desires nothing better than to be friends with her." On 28 August 1939, i.e., twenty-five years later, another British Ambassador in Berlin, Sir Nevile Henderson, heard similar words from another Reich Chancellor—Adolf Hitler. When Hitler expressed his doubts whether Great Britain would implement her guarantee to Poland and act in defence of that country's independence, and when Sir Nevile Henderson answered, "Our word is our word, and we never have and never will

break it," recalling that in the days of Blücher a promise had had the same value in Germany, the present Reich Chancellor declared curtly: 'Things were different one hundred and twenty-five years ago.' In other words, in present-day Germany the pledged word no longer has the same value.

In her periods of power Germany has never been chary of giving frank expression to her views on the value of international agreements. But in her periods of weakness she has been very careful to conceal those views, while awaiting better times for herself. But very characteristic is Stresemann's indignation with Bethmann-Hollweg, when in 1925 he accused the former Chancellor of openly admitting that Germany had violated Belgian neutrality in 1914, instead of following the example of Frederick the Great and throwing the responsibility on the Belgian Government.¹ We do not know whether Hitler has ever read Stresemann's Memoirs, but his tactics have been in consonance with this criticism made by the Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Weimar Republic. Hitler always begins by publicly accusing the State he is planning to attack of preparing aggression against Germany, then hurls his air and land forces against it, taking it by surprise.

This part of the German philosophy directly concerns other nations. Let them remember it when Germany is once more ready to conclude international agreements.

¹ See pp. 83-5 (Bethmann-Hollweg) and pp. 338-9 (Stresemann).

NECESSITY KNOWS NO LAW

TRUTH to tell, treaties are only oaths of deception and faithlessness.

The jurisprudence of sovereigns is customarily the law of the strongest.

FREDERICK THE GREAT, Preface to "*Histoire de mon temps*", *Works*, 1743.

BUT a prince, when he binds himself, does not bind himself alone, otherwise he would be in the same position as a private individual. Instead, he exposes great countries and great provinces to a thousand misfortunes. Therefore, it is better that he should break his contract rather than that the people should perish.

FREDERICK THE GREAT (1746). *Bibl.* IV, I, iv, p. 155.

TREATIES may be broken from weighty motives. . . . That kind of coup may be made once, or at the most twice, in a lifetime, but it is not the kind of solution which may be resorted to every day.

FREDERICK THE GREAT (1752). *Bibl.* VIII, B. 68, p. 380.

EVERY nation desires to enlarge its possessions as far as possible, and as far as possible to incorporate the entire human family into itself. That is a tendency which it has received from God. . . . In relations with other nations there are no laws or rights beyond the right of the strongest.

JOHANN GOTTLIEB FICHTE, *Macchiavel als Schriftsteller*. Cf. *Macchiavel et l'Allemagne*, by Henri Berr, p. 12.

ALL charters are only scraps of paper.

FREDERICK WILLIAM IV, King of Prussia, Speech from the Throne to the Assembly of the States-General, 11 April 1847.

BUT even when it is a question of Germans who have lost their German nationality, the Empire may, in certain circumstances, find itself compelled to take measures to protect them. If the large German agglomerations, primarily in tropical countries, such as southern Brazil and southern Chile, were treated with violence, the Empire would have the moral duty, and therefore the national right to intervene in their favour, without examining the question of nationality more closely. The exercise of this right is undoubtedly a question of force; it is necessary that the Reich's protest should be followed by deeds; it is necessary that it should dispose of the appro-

priate violent means, and of the methods which alone are applicable to the tropical countries, that is to say, a sufficient number of naval vessels.

PAUL DEHN.¹ 1898. Bibl. VIII, D. 34, p. 119.

WE definitely think that whoever starts a war in the future will do well to consider his own interests alone, and not any so-called law of nations; he will do well to act in the most ruthless and reckless manner; that applies also to a struggle with Britain, and the peace treaties must be far harder and more effective even than that of Frankfort.

Anonymous pamphlet. 1900. Bibl. II, 13, p. 215.

MIGHT is the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the standard of power, war, which always gives a biologically just decision, as its decisions are inherent in the nature of things.

FRIEDRICH VON BERNHARDI. 1913. Bibl. VI, 9
(6th ed.), p. 17.

REBUS sic stantibus is a condition of every treaty of alliance, because since it is to serve the interests of each of the participants it is obvious that it can only stand so long as those interests are thereby really promoted. This is a principle of political justice that can scarcely be disputed, for nothing can bind a country to act against its own interests.

FRIEDRICH VON BERNHARDI, *ibid.*, p. 326.

ALL treaties between nations are valid only with the reservation clause: *rebus sic stantibus*. They do not pledge a State for ever.

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE. 1869. Bibl. V, 202 (c),
Vol. 2, p. 239.

... And to all those who desire a long continuation of peace we say that the German Empire, after showing its love of peace for forty years, can declare war only in this event, to wit, that its frontiers have become too constrained; and if we lack land for the number of our population, if the hunger which reigns in our country is not satisfied, the sword must come to our aid. Necessity knows no law.

HEINRICH CLASS. 1911. Bibl. V, 20A, p. 29.

(At the sitting of the Reichstag—on 4 August 1914—the Chancellor defined Germany's position:)

A tremendous fate has fallen upon Europe. While we have endeavoured to maintain the prestige of the German Empire in the

¹ Paul Dehn; historical and geographico-economic writer.

eyes of the world, we have lived for forty-four years in peace and protected European peace. In this work of peace we have become strong and mighty—therefore we are envied. We have suffered with long-enduring patience, while in the East and West, under the excuse that Germany is lusting for war, hatred for us has been nourished and fetters wrought wherewith to bind us. The wind which blows there has now become a storm.

We desired nothing but to live on in peaceful toil, content with an unspoken oath that was echoed from the Emperor down to the youngest recruit. Our sword shall only leap from its sheath in defence of a just cause. (*Loud applause.*) The day on which we must draw it, has dawned against our will and contrary to our honest endeavours. Russia has set a burning torch to the house of peace. (*Loud cries of "Quite true."*) We stand to-day in a forced war with Russia and France.

... Simultaneously, it was necessary for us to inquire regarding France's attitude. In answer to our definite question whether, in case of a Russo-German war, France would remain neutral, the French Government has replied that they will act as their interests dictate. (*Laughter.*) This was at least an evasion, if not a negative answer to our question.

In spite of this, the Kaiser ordered that the French frontier should be respected. This order was strictly obeyed, with one single exception. France, which mobilised at the same time as ourselves, declared that she would respect a ten-kilometre zone along her frontiers. (*Cries of indignation.*) And what happened in reality? Their air-men have thrown bombs, cavalry patrols have violated our territory, and companies have broken into Alsace-Lorraine. (*Indignation.*) Therewith, France, although war has not yet been declared, has attacked our territories.

... We are now in a position of self-defence, and necessity knows no law! (*Cries of "Quite right."*) Our troops have occupied Luxembourg, perhaps they have already entered Belgium. (*Loud applause.*) That is a breach of international law. The French Government, it is true, had declared in Brussels that they would respect Belgian neutrality so long as their opponent respected it. But we knew that France stood ready to invade it. (*Cries of indignation.*)

France could wait, we could not, and a French attack on our flank on the Lower Rhine might have been disastrous for us. Thus we

were compelled to ignore the protests of the Luxembourg and Belgian Governments.

The injustice which we commit thereby, we shall try to make good again as soon as our military goal is attained. Anyone who fights for the highest, as we do now, may only think of how he may hack his way through. (*Hurricanes of applause, long-continued hand-clapping in the whole house and on the tribune.*) . . .

Gentlemen, we are standing shoulder to shoulder with Austria-Hungary. Concerning England's attitude, the declaration made by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons yesterday has made the standpoint which the English Government takes up quite clear.

We have declared to the English Government that as long as England remains neutral, our fleet shall not attack the north coast of France. Further, that we shall not disturb the integrity and independence of Belgium. I repeat this declaration before the whole world, and I may add that if England will remain neutral, we are prepared—assuming mutual treatment—to undertake no hostile operations against France's mercantile marine. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, so much for events up till now! I repeat the words of the Kaiser: 'We enter the struggle with a clear conscience!' (*Great enthusiasm.*) We are fighting for the fruits of our labours in peace, for the heritage of a great past, and for our future. The fifty years are not yet ended within which Moltke said we should stand at arms to defend the heritage and the achievements of 1870. The hour of great trial has struck for our nation. But we look forward to it with absolute confidence. (*Tremendous applause.*)

Our army is in the field, our fleet is ready, and behind them the entire German nation (*roars of enthusiastic applause and hand-clapping in the whole House*)—the whole German nation! (*These words were accompanied by a gesture towards the Social Democrats.—Renewed outburst of applause, in which the Social Democrats also joined.*)

Gentlemen, you know your duty in its entirety. The vote of credit requires no further argument, I beg you to pass it quickly. (*Loud applause.*)

CHANCELLOR TH. VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG,¹
Berliner Tageblatt, 5 Aug. 1914.

¹ Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg (1856–1921), jurist and Prussian statesman; in 1905 Reich Minister for Home Affairs, and in 1909 Reich Chancellor and Prussian President of Ministers; the 'scrap of paper' Chancellor. Resigned Chancellorship in 1917.

ON whose side is the right? On the side which possesses the force. Right or not, we shall stand or fall for our country. We wish to conquer: we must conquer! Useless to amplify, useless to demonstrate, frock-coated and bespectacled diplomats, that we are honest men of a pacific disposition! Cecil Rhodes—a great man, a giant in patent leather shoes and with tubercular lungs—roared in the withered faces of the pedants: ‘This war is just, because it serves my people, because it increases the power of my country!’ We drive this maxim with hammer blows into all hearts. It triumphs over hundreds of White Books. Post it up on all the walls, on the town halls, at the corners of the streets, on great posters red with blood.

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN, *Zukunft*, 1914.

Bibl. I, 39 (a), pp. 59–60.

LET us renounce our miserable efforts to excuse Germany, let us cease to hurl contemptible insults at the enemy. It is not against our will that we are now thrown into this gigantic adventure. It has not been thrust upon us by surprise. We have wished it: we must wish it. We do not appear before the tribunal of Europe; we do not recognise any such jurisdiction. . . .

Germany is not making this war in order to punish the guilty or to liberate oppressed peoples, and then to rest in the consciousness of her disinterested magnanimity. She is making it out of the immutable conviction that her works give her the right to a larger place in the world and greater outlets for her activities.

Spain and the Netherlands, France and England have seized, have colonised large territories, the most fertile in the world. Now the hour of Germany has sounded, and she must take her place as a directing power in the world. . . .

Look! Is Germany strong? Yes. What are you muttering then, bespectacled professors and carpet-slipped theologians? That there is such a thing as right? That noble ideas have any value? What chimeras are you seeking to defend? One principle alone counts, one alone which summarises and contains all the others: force. Demand that, and away with the nonsense! Force, there is the word which sounds loud and clear, which has style and allure. Force, a fist, that is everything!

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN, *ibid.*, pp. 67–9.

. . . According to Belgian official opinion her neutrality obligations only came into force in the event of war, and therefore could not be

violated during peace. But this balance of power was to be maintained above all in time of peace, and might not be disturbed by any peaceful negotiations whatever, especially if these were calculated to manifest themselves in either advantageous or prejudicial form in the event of war.

PROF. REINHARD FRANK. 1915. Bibl. VIII, D. 54.

SUSPICION in neutral countries can no longer frighten us. For two years of war have shown what neutrality is worth. It is a matter of indifference to us what they think about us in neutral countries.

GEORG BERNHARD.¹ 1916. Bibl. IX, 7, p. 23.

To my great regret German troops have been compelled to enter Belgian territory. They are acting under the compulsion of unavoidable necessity, for French officers in disguise have already violated Belgian neutrality by trying to reach Germany, via Belgium, in motor cars.

Belgians! it is my most ardent desire that it may yet be possible to avoid a struggle between two peoples which up till now have been friends, formerly even allies. Remember the glorious days of *La Belle Alliance*, when German arms helped to found the independence and future of your Fatherland.

Now we must have a free way. The destruction of tunnels, bridges and railways will be considered hostile actions. Belgians! you have to choose. The German army does not intend to fight against you, but seeks a free path against the enemy who wishes to attack us. That is all we desire.

Herewith I give the Belgian people an official pledge that they will not have to suffer under the terrors of war, that we will pay ready money for all necessities which we may have to requisition, that our soldiers will show themselves the best friends of a nation for which we have the highest esteem and ardent affection. It depends upon your prudence and your patriotism whether your land shall be spared the horrors of war.

GENERAL VON EMMICH, Proclamation on 4 Aug.
1914 in Belgium. Cf. *Kölnische Zeitung*,
6 Aug. 1914.

¹ Georg Bernhard (1875-), journalist; editor of *Vossische Zeitung*; member of Reichstag and Reich Economic Council; Chairman of Reich Association of German Press; Professor at Berlin School of Economics; went abroad 1933, and founded and edited *Pariser Tageszeitung*.

GERMAN CONCEPTION OF LAW

To us Right is solely and exclusively that which serves German honour.

ALFRED ROSENBERG. 1931. Bibl. V, 170, p. 591.

* * *

BEFORE the majesty of Life, treaties are just so many scraps of paper—for the sake of Peace.

DR. HANS K. E. L. KELLER. "Völkerrecht von Morgen", *Zeitschrift für Völkerrecht*,¹ 1933, p. 366.

RIGHT is for National Socialists that which serves the German people.

DR. FRICK,² Congress of German Lawyers,
10 March 1933. Bibl. I, 48, p. 131.

IF anyone faces me with the reproach that we should have used the regular courts for trial, I have only one answer: in that hour I was responsible for the fate of the German nation, and therefore I myself was the German people's Supreme Tribunal.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech in Reichstag,
13 July 1934.

AMONG the ideologies or fictions that are to-day becoming dissipated and must be eliminated or corrected as erroneous prejudices, belongs, finally, the one concerning national progress, which takes the questionable wishful thinking and conceits of the present as the standard for the development of international law.

PROF. HEINRICH ROGGE. 1938. Bibl. VIII, D. 153.
Cf. Bibl. I, 12, p. 112.

IN practice it is not the legal arrangement that will prevail, but the greater inner strength of a nation. . . . There will never be a community of nations with such balanced power that all questions can be solved by agreement and peacefully. Instead, where really vital questions are at stake, the primordial instinct of all living things will again and again cause a nation to do that which it regards as

¹ German periodical for international law.

² Wilhelm Frick (1877-), politician; took part in Nazi Putsch in Munich, 1923; member of Reichstag, 1924; first National Socialist to become a Minister, as Minister of Home Affairs in Thuringia, 1930; Reich Minister for Home Affairs in Nazi Cabinet, 1933; also Prussian Minister for Home Affairs in 1934.

necessary and useful. That is no Machiavellianism, but a sober statement of age-old experience.

GÜNTHER KRÄTZ,—“Nationalsozialistisches Völkerrechtsdenken”, *Reichs- und preussisches Verwaltungsblatt*,¹ 1934, Vol. 55, p. 11.

IN Penal Law sloppy humanitarian ideas which came to us from the West are overcome, and we return to old Germanic legal ideas which embodied sufficient harshness to exterminate pests of the community.

REICHSMINISTER DR. GÜRTNER,² *Völkischer Beobachter*,
29 Aug. 1934.

WHILE the old penal law adhered to the principle that a criminal act could be punished only if expressly so stated in the statutes, in other words, no punishment without law, the new Bill is based on an entirely different *Weltanschauung*.

REICHSMINISTER DR. GÜRTNER, *Völkischer Beobachter*,
31 Aug. 1934.

TO-DAY it is again the warriors who rule. . . . Without armed force there is no viable law. This basic foundation of blood is indispensable in national life and therefore in international law. . . . The German Defence constitution is the pre-requisite for the foundation of a viable order of international law.

DR. BOHNACKER, “Wehrrecht—Eine Voraussetzung von Staats- und Völkerrecht”,
Juristische Wochenschrift, 1935.

THE judge is his own legislator. He is no longer subject to the law. The judge is subject only to the orders given by the Führer. The independence of the courts of justice seems definitely to belong to the past.

Deutsche Justiz,³ 2 Feb. 1935.

. . . a State will ultimately not submit to the decision of an international court if questions really vital to the nation are at stake.

COUNT SCHENK VON STAUFFENBERG, “Friedliche Erledigung internationaler Streitfälle”,
Deutsches Recht, Vol. 5, 1935, pp. 120 ff.

¹ Periodical for Administrative Law for the Reich and Prussia.

² German jurist and politician (1881–); 1927, Bavarian Minister of Justice; Reich Minister of Justice since 1932.

³ Official organ for German magistrates.

GERMAN CONCEPTION OF LAW

THE law of to-day is nothing less than the plan and will of the Führer. Only he who has absorbed Adolf Hitler's book *Mein Kampf* can be a lawyer.

PROF. CARL SCHMITT, in a lecture at Berlin University, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 8 Oct. 1935.

IT is implicit in the Führer principle that a statement by the Führer promulgated in a special form, for instance a proclamation at a Party Rally or in the Reichstag, or his judgment of 30 June, 1934, is to be regarded as a source of law and has to be carried out by the judges.

JUSTICE ROTHENBERGER, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 4 Oct. 1935.

As the sources for interpretation the judges have at their disposal the Party Programme, *Mein Kampf*, and speeches by the Führer.

JUSTICE ROTHENBERGER, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 4 Oct. 1935.

THE basis of interpretation (of the law) is the political philosophy of the National Socialist Party. In face of the Führer's decisions the judge has no right of interpretation.

REICHSMINISTER DR. HANS FRANK, Speech to Lawyers, Berlin, 15 Jan. 1936.

THE guiding principle must be: "Justice is what benefits my nation!"

GAULEITER MUTSCHMANN, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 17 Jan. 1936.

RIGHT is what benefits the German people, and wrong is what would be hurtful to it. To establish the limits between right and wrong is the task of the highest party court of justice.

WALTHER BUCH,¹ at a Press reception, Munich, 5 Feb. 1936.

. . . Love for the Führer has become a principle of law.

REICHSMINISTER DR. HANS FRANK, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 30 June 1936.

IN passing judgment the judge must not in the first place consider the Statute Book, but must listen to the voice of popular conscience,

¹ Walther Buch (1883-), Major; Gaustürmführer (provincial Storm troop leader) for Southern Bavaria; Member of Reichstag, 1928.

to sane popular feeling. . . . If punishment on the basis of the law does not appear adequate, the judge must decide to pass sentence directly on the basis of sane popular feeling.

ROLAND FREISLER,¹ *Frankfurter Zeitung*,
20 Oct. 1936.

If the wording of a law, which cannot be interpreted in any other way, contradicts National Socialist legal principles, the judge may, in an exceptional case, decide against the law, if the interpretation of the statutory law is not in accord with sane popular feeling.

JUSTICE DR. ROTHENBERGER, *Frankfurter Zeitung*,
22 Oct. 1936.

GERMAN Justice is that which serves the German people.

WALTER BUCH, *Völkischer Beobachter*,
22 Aug. 1937.

ONLY nations with the mental and moral qualifications, as expressed in their discipline and organisation, to hold firmly in their hands the complicated apparatus of a modern community are entitled to form a State which will be a first-rank subject of international law. The States formed by other nations can only be *objects* of international law.

PROF. CARL SCHMITT, Lecture at Berlin,
18 March 1939. Bibl. I, 48, p. 104.

IN war one has merely to safeguard the basic elements of strength, i.e. national unity and destruction of any possibility of enemy resistance. Now only this one thing counts: Who is stronger? Who is more determined, who has better nerves? Anyone who does not admit this is merely a pale theoretician and is not fit for politics nor for the creation of law.

REICHSMINISTER DR. HANS FRANK, *National Zeitung*,
Essen, 5 Dec. 1939.

¹ Roland Freisler (1893-), jurist; member of Prussian Diet; Under-secretary of State in Prussian Ministry of Justice, 1933; Secretary of State, Reich Ministry of Justice, 1935; member of Reichstag, 1933.

Section 7

GERMAN IDEAS ON PACIFISM

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

It is true that there have been sincere pacifists in Germany. Professor Förster, v. Gerlach, General v. Schönaich, Ossietski and Mertens were all Germans. The Weimar Republic tried Ossietski for high treason, while Hitler threw him into a concentration camp. Others, such as Förster and Mertens, were compelled to emigrate even in the days of the Weimar Republic. Their labour and exertions made no impression on Germany. German society rejected them indignantly as traitors and mischief-makers. Apart from these few individuals, what large German organisation was ever sincerely pacifist? There has never been a situation in Germany comparable to that which has existed in England, in France, in the United States and other countries, where pacifists have influenced the formation of public opinion and the policy of governments. It has never been so, simply because pacifism is completely irreconcilable with German philosophy. The following excerpts clearly illustrate what the average German thinks of peace and pacifism.

ETERNAL peace is a dream, and not even a fine dream; and war is a member in God's world ordinance. In it develop man's noblest virtues: courage and renunciation, loyalty to duty and readiness for sacrifice with the assignment of life. Without war the world would be bogged in materialism.

FIELD-MARSHAL COUNT HELMUTH KARL VON MOLTKE,
Letter to Bluntschli.¹

... that William II by his attitude, particularly in recent years, has proved to be a sincere friend of international peace.

Vorwärts, 30 July 1914.

THOSE who preach the nonsense of eternal peace do not understand Aryan national life.

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE, *Politik*, 4th ed.,
1918, Vol. i, p. 74.

... We have the power, and it is our duty to carry the German people to success in the world. If this can be done along with the preservation of world peace, so much the better! But if it can only be achieved by force of arms, then we must not recoil from that, either.

GENERAL A. KEIM, "Wachet liebe Volkserzieher!", *Volkserzieher*, 1910, p. 29.

WHEN art thou coming, much-feared, inevitable world conflagration!
... Thou pitiful generation that dreamest of peace!

ANONYMOUS, 1911. *Bibl.* II, 47, pp. 3 ff.

OUR people must learn to realise that the preservation of peace can and must never be the aim of policy.

F. VON BERNHARDI. 1913. *Bibl.* VI, 9, p. 36.

PEACE falsifies life and favours all that is false. It is only in war that truth and justice establishes itself again. *Would it not be wiser if we always remained in a state of war?*

TH. FRITSCH, *Hammer*, 1914, p. 541.

¹ Count Helmuth von Moltke (1800-91), Prussian Field-Marshal; defeated Austrians at Königgrätz, 1866; Chief of General Staff in Franco-German War, 1870-1; Conservative Member of the Reichstag.

GERMAN IDEAS ON PACIFISM

THE German love of peace would be abused if it allowed the teaching of pacifism to gain an entry, for peace fanaticism, doubly dangerous in its obscurity, tends to enervate the people.

PROF. OTTO VON GIERKE. 1914. Bibl. VIII, D. 76,
p. 13.

WE must not look for permanent peace as a result of this war. Heaven defend Germany from that.

PROF. O. A. H. SCHMITZ.¹ 1915. Bibl. IX, 129A, p. 19.

PERPETUAL peace would only be possible if the efficient nations were voluntarily to renounce the full exploitation of their powers and were voluntarily to restrict the increase of their populations, so that there should be room for all. But that is an assumption that must be described as nothing less than unnatural.

PROF. MAX V. GRUBER. 1915. Bibl. VIII, F. 5, p. 21.

WE know of no pacifist utterances by representative Germans of any time. The wretched book of the aged Kant on *Perpetual Peace* . . . is the only inglorious exception. Such utterances would indeed amount to a sin against the holy spirit of Germanism, which, from the depth of its heroism, cannot possibly arrive at any view other than a high appreciation of war.

WERNER SOMBART.² Bibl. VIII, D. 192, p. 93.

THE people are unanimous and resolved in pursuing this principal aim. The plain truth which we meet wherever we look is this: There is one fear alone among all classes of the people, and that fear is particularly broad and deep among the masses. It is the fear that through the delusive idea of foolish conciliatoriness, or through nervous impatience, a premature, doubtful and transient peace might be concluded. It is feared that once more the diplomat's pen might give up what the sword has victoriously won, as happened a century ago.

The Petition of German Professors, 20 June 1915.

¹ Oskar A. H. Schmitz (1873-1921), writer; wrote psychological novels, and books on England.

² Werner Sombart (1863-), economist; Professor at Breslau and Berlin Universities; chief writings devoted to social questions. Originally strongly influenced by Marx, but afterwards was a violent opponent of Marxism; advocated national 'Autarkie'.

GERMAN IDEAS ON PACIFISM

MAN has become great through perpetual struggle. In perpetual peace his greatness must decline.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 124.

THE ideas of pacifism and humanity may be quite good after the supreme race has conquered and subdued the world in such a measure as makes him its exclusive master.

. . . Therefore, first fight, and then perhaps pacifism.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 271.

PACIFISM is the most outspoken cowardice. . . . We have come into this political life as soldiers. . . . And when anyone says: You are imperialists, then ask him: Are you unwilling to be one? If not, then never dare to become a father, for if you beget a child you must provide its daily bread. And if you provide bread, then you are an imperialist.

ADOLF HITLER, at the Congress of the N.S.D.A.P.,
Nuremberg, 19-21 Aug. 1927. Bibl. I, 43,
p. 57.

IN my innermost conscience I am against pacifism, because we must preserve the virile and martial spirit of our youth, but the foreign pacifists are our best allies.

M. REIMANN, lycée headmaster, at the War
Guilt Congress, Goslar, 6 July 1927.
Bibl. I, 56, p. 89.

I AM no pacifist! In this world great questions must be decided by force!

SOLLMANN [Socialist], *Correspondance de Genève*,
19 Sept. 1927. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 91.

WE must no longer have a pacific conception of peace. In the Middle Ages it was otherwise. . . . Pacifist literature depicts death on the field of battle as an unnatural death, because it does not understand the ancient Germanic horror of death on a bed, and arterio-sclerosis appears to it more virile than a bullet. Pacifists dwell on the horror of the war dead as if a peace corpse were more aesthetic.

GERMAN IDEAS ON PACIFISM

The representatives of the national revolution are men and soldiers who are physically and morally warriors.

FRANZ VON PAPEN,¹ address to the Stahlhelm at
Münster, 13 May 1933. *Bibl. I*, 43,
p. 346.

¹ Franz von Papen (1879-), politician; Military Attaché in Mexico and Washington, 1914-16; Chief of Staff, Turkish 4th Army, 1917; member of Centre Party in Prussian Diet, 1921-31; formed non-Party Reich Cabinet, 1932; Vice-Chancellor in Hitler Cabinet, 1933; negotiated Concordat with Vatican, 1933; Reich Plenipotentiary on Saar questions, 1933; Special Minister to Austria, 1934; Ambassador to Turkey, 1939.

CHAPTER TWO

“A CHOSEN RACE.”

THE GERMANS A PEOPLE OF RULERS

The Germans have no conception how vile they are, and this is the superlative of vileness—they are not even ashamed of being Germans. . . .

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, *Ecce Homo*.

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BISMARCK
(1815-98)

Section I

THE HIGHER MISSION OF UNITED GREAT GERMANY.
THE GERMANS ALONE CONSTITUTE A REAL NATION.
THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS WERE SALUTARY
TO EUROPE

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

For 150 years the Germans have been persuading themselves that they are a chosen nation, called to take on themselves the government of the world. This conviction long since permeated the German masses, who, hypnotised by this 'exceptional quality' of their nation, are convinced that by undertaking a new war every few decades they are fulfilling Germany's sacred mission. The German intellectual class has worked incessantly to implant in the people this conviction of the superiority of the German nation. And of this sowing all Europe periodically reaps the sanguinary harvest.

On what has German literature nourished the nation? The Germans alone are a true nation. The Germans are the salt of the earth. The Germans represent the highest moral and intellectual values of humanity. The Germans are the supreme result of European civilisation.

Even the barbarian invasions which plunged Greco-Roman civilisation into the abyss for long ages are interpreted by Germans as a source of progress and human regeneration!

In this atmosphere of self-glorification it is understandable that the German national hymn should begin with the words: 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, Über alles in der Welt.' For that is the practical result of exalting Germans to the height of humanity. If Germans are the source of all progress, the deduction necessarily follows that for the good and the greatness of Germany one may, and even must, sacrifice everything, but most of all the honour and the life of other nations, for whom the German writers have, as one of them wrote, 'boundless contempt'.

This declaration might remain a 'literary curiosity' for sane-minded people, but for the fact that it was the cause of the second European war. For the Germans generally, and German youth especially, take it quite seriously, and draw from it certain practical conclusions, carving a road by fire and sword for the chosen nation to fulfil its mission of governing the world.

TRUE philosophy, philosophy autonomous and complete, that philosophy which has penetrated beyond phenomena into their essence derives not from this or that particular life; it derives, on the contrary, from life single, pure, divine, from life absolute, from life which is eternal and subsists in an eternal unity. . . . Therefore that philosophy is rightly German, that is to say, primitive, and, inversely, if anyone became German, he could not philosophise otherwise.

If we have proceeded on right lines in our inquiry so far, it must follow that only a non-adulterated German,—that is to say, the man who has conserved the integrity of his primitive forces for a people and for the right to count upon a people,—he alone is able to love his nation with a true and rational love.

. . . Now, this is a people, in the higher sense of the word, the sense which the word acquires if one admits the existence of a world of spirit: a people is the ensemble of men who live in common throughout the ages and perpetuate themselves physically and morally without adulteration, according to one of the particular laws of development of the Divine.

J. G. FICHTE, *Reden an die Deutschen Nation* (ed. 1846).
Bibl. VIII, A. 14, Vol. vii, pp. 362 ff.

Now, it cannot be questioned that the result of the invasions was salutary in itself, and that this mingling of Germanic races with the degenerate Roman population, of this natural German force, healthy and full of intellectual vigour, with the Roman humanity and culture, which without this influx immediately fell into decadence, was fertile.

Anyone who still has doubts of this can find an historic and peremptory reason for the dismissal of those doubts, simply by comparing the historical evolution, so brilliant and so varied, and the highly flourishing intellectual culture of the new nations and empires of Europe, which arose from this Germano-Roman stock, with the history of the Byzantine decadence, with the monotony of the intellectual exhaustion and the complete moral enervation which was there manifested.

F. VON SCHLEGEL,¹ p. 50.

THE Greeks and the Romans came to their maturity when they spread beyond their own confines. The Germans, on the contrary,

¹ Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829), philosopher, historian and poet; tutor in Jena, Paris and Cologne, then chief secretary for Public Service; took part in the Congress of Vienna.

began by expanding, by overwhelming the world and mastering the worm-eaten and rotten civilised States. Only then did they set out on their true development, stimulated by contact with a foreign culture, a foreign religion, a foreign form of State and legislation. They did not become civilised by absorbing foreign principles, but by mastering them, and their history is that of a development which consists in re-entering into themselves, in relating everything to themselves. . . .

G. W. F. HEGEL,¹ *Philosophie der Geschichte*.
Bibl. VIII, A. 22, edition 1848, Vol. ix,
pp. 415 ff.

. . . Everything which is impure in the German philosophy comes from abroad.

We rightly thrust all this dung far from us, for it comes to us from abroad. Let the French welcome and admire the corrupted doctrines which the Babœufs, the Saint-Simons, the Fouriers have clothed in the most diverse names; they are the consequence of the palpable frivolity and looseness of the Parisian morals. That is not German philosophy, but rather a sort of plague come from abroad, contraband goods poorly concealed under a few philosophical terms, adorned with a few humbugging expressions stamped with the most generous humanity and vital Christianity of the first centuries. Undoubtedly this plague has been spread among us, the wretched sanitary condition of certain circles allowed it to; but the contagion is very far from Hegel and Schelling.

A people so courageous and intelligent as ours can never become the prey of inferior neighbours. A great people's aspiration to honour, to power, to majesty must necessarily be realised some day. Confidence, then, and let us remain firmly in an indissoluble union.

ERNST MORITZ ARNDT.² 1814. Bibl. VIII, B. 3,
pp. 147 ff.

EVERYWHERE the Germans have taken over the direction of human industries, they have placed themselves at the head of political and

¹ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), philosopher; Professor at Jena, Heidelberg and Berlin. Father of one of the outstanding philosophical systems of the nineteenth century.

² Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769–1860), political writer and poet; Professor of History at Greifswald and Bonn Universities. Dismissed in 1820, on a charge of revolutionary activities, and was restored twenty years later, by Friedrich Wilhelm IV.

social enterprises: the creation and organisation of colonial offices, navigation, commerce, agriculture, etc. . . ., and even where geographical circumstances imposed some restriction on their activities, they have realised benefits double and triple those of neighbours two or three times as favourably situated.

. . . Leave the Baltic and the Mediterranean with me and see what is happening in America; there you will make the same deductions as in Europe, you will see how much the enterprising tenacity, the active audacity, and the persistent labour of the Germans everywhere succeed in excluding the Latins and their descendants, how they succeed to some extent in demeaning them and even driving them off by their labour.

ERNST MORITZ ARNDT. 1814. *Ibid.*, pp. 147 ff.

FORMERLY, when States fell so low [Ref. to the decadence of the Roman Empire.—*Ed.*] Providence had recourse to great invasions. She opened the deep springs of life, and the barbarian hordes which were distributed over the degenerates refreshed that languishing life from top to bottom with their young blood, and caused new branches to spring from the old stock.

JOSEPH VON GÖRRES, *Deutschland und die Revolution*, "Politische Schriften", Vol. iv, p. 168.

. . . Thus in the history of humanity the sacred races were formerly the Greeks, as a nation, and now in their turn the Germans, as a cosmopolitan people.

Which are the nations which depart most from pure humanity? They are those who embody only a part of human nature in their language, their spirit, their reason, their thought, their activity, their institutions; those who do not comprehend the transcendent unity of human nature in its totality, those who no more have any conception of the invisible and sacred domain, in which humanity participates, than we, Germans, recognise the domain which is shared by the dogs, the asses, the sheep or the pigs!

FRIEDRICH LUDWIG JAHN.¹ 1810. *Bibl.* V, 90, pp. 32-3.

AMONG peoples, as in nature, there can be distinguished males and females. The Germans are males. They are even so virile that,

¹ Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852), founder of the German 'Turn Bewegung' (Gymnastic Movement).

taken in isolation, they escape all Government influence. Each of them wishes to guard his individuality intact. But, if they are united in the mass, then they resemble an irresistible torrent which throws down all in its passage. The Celts and Slavs are feminine. They are incapable of producing anything, incapable of engendering anything by themselves.

The Russians cannot excel the Germans. They are not active, but easily allow themselves to be governed. They are ignorant of the force of resistance and obey their master. The Celts also are only a passive crowd. It is only in contact with the Germans and by mingling with them that they have become a political people. That is what happened in the case of the English, the Spaniards when the Goths were at their head, the French when the Frank element dominated. The French Revolution rejected this element and gave the preponderance to the Celtic element. That is why the French have since had a tendency to submit to violence.

The Westphalians and the Swabians are old Germans, and it is very difficult to get them used to being constituted in a State. When a national ideal, when a passion takes possession of them they would hurl down mountains. But usually, each village, each peasant is determined to remain independent and autonomous.

The Prussian is a powerful blend of Slav and German elements; there you have one of the principal explanations of his political flexibility. His character simultaneously partakes of the docile character of the Slav and the virile character of the Germans.

PRINCE OTTO VON BISMARCK. Conversation with
Bismarck 30 April 1868, in Bluntschli.
Bibl. V, 10 (b), Vol. iii, p. 193.

WE must raise higher the banner of *Pangermanism* and for the Germans in the world we must make the political claims which are their right, as the second greatest civilised Folkdom on the earth. . . .

The régime which is placed at the head of the German people is obliged to put forward these national claims for the co-possession of world hegemony, and to ensure that these claims, *by good ways or violent*, shall come in their time into their rights. The German nation must know *why* for decades to come they will have to prepare with increasing exertion of all their national strength to arm themselves and to fight. It would be a genuine mockery of the people's

labour thus expended if it were all only for the maintenance of peace and the defence of their present possessions.

Pamphlet issued by the All-German Association. 1891.
Bibl. II, 15, p. 11.

THE German who is still free from all Slav or Celtic alloy has a distinctive character and vies with all his equals. When he is allied with other races, provided he has the necessary patience and endurance he always succeeds in becoming the chief, the directing will, as the husband must be in a household. I have no desire to offend the Slavs, but it is very necessary to recognise that their character has much of the feminine in it: they have charm, intelligence, artifice, address, and often the Germans appear heavy and clumsy beside them. But we always carry the day, and that is why I would like to say to you: when you are doing business with your Slav rivals, even at moments of the most violent anger and in the most critical situations, always retain the profound conviction, the most profound but secret conviction, that you are fundamentally their superiors, and that you always will be so.

BISMARCK, Speech to a Deputation from Styria,
15 April 1895. Bibl. I, 2 (a), pp. 170-1.

EVEN as the exalted sentiments and the vanities of youth precede the seriousness of mature age, so the strivings of contemporary Germans are the prelude to an intimate union, which we can with certainty expect, between the Germans and their cousins outside.

They dwell from Riga to Amsterdam. And everywhere it is sufficient for their eyes to meet for two Germans, one coming from the Reich, and the other from another country, to recognise and understand each other. The German who recognises Shakespeare and Rembrandt as men of the same blood as himself, recognises Cromwell and Pitt as the same also. And the time will certainly come when the Dutch, the English, the Danes, the Swedes will salute their spiritual forebears not only in Luther, but in Bismarck.

. . . That is the call of the blood!

JULIUS LANGBEHN. 1890. Bibl. IX, 92, p. 231.

THE Nineteenth century was not the German century; it was the Prussian century. In the history of the world the Twentieth century will be called the German century.

Koloniale Zeitschrift, 28 March 1900.

HIGHER MISSION OF UNITED GREAT GERMANY

... Germans alone will govern; they alone will exercise political rights; they alone will serve in the Army and in the Navy; they alone will have the right to become landowners; thus they will acquire the conviction that, as in the Middle Ages, the Germans are a people of rulers. However, they will condescend so far as to delegate inferior tasks to foreign subjects subservient to Germany. . . .

Anonymous pamphlet. 1901. Bibl. IX, 1A, p. 48.

THE German race is called to span the world with its dominion, to make the most of the treasures of nature and of labour power, and to utilise the passive races as serving members of its culture.

LUDWIG WOLTMANN.¹ 1903. Bibl. VIII, F. 42, p. 298.

... Therefore great enforced migrations of the inferior peoples must be organised!

Posterity will be grateful to us for doing so.

The colonisation of the earth by the most perfect race is the wisdom of war. . . .

To the conquered rivals who encumber our road we must assign reserved territories, into which we shall drive them to make room for the German expansion: we must set a term to their increase, which is dangerous to us, by circumscribing their country.

Consciousness of race, consciousness of nationality! That is what is born of personal preservation; and it is the sole sentiment which will be born, to the exclusion of vain humanitarian illusions.

I, at any rate, *feel only this one sentiment: that I shall survive in my compatriots.* . . .

... Our watchword, desired by the instinct, commanded by the reason because it is the creator of culture, is: The Nation above all.

The Nation above humanity.

The Germans know only 'Deutschland über alles' in the world. And it is because such a watchword was an obligation upon our ancestors that we are German.

KLAUS WAGNER. 1906. Bibl. V, 204A, pp. 45 ff.

OUR race with its culture is superior to all the other nations and races of the earth; for . . . our civilisation has reached a height where it incomparably excels and dominates that of all the other nations and races of the earth.

PROF. JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl. VIII, B. 81, p. 32.

¹Ludwig Woltmann (1871-1907), writer on racial problems and "Social Darwinism". See also pp. 214 and 221.

HIGHER MISSION OF UNITED GREAT GERMANY

THE Kultur of the Germans is actually the stimulus to our present European civilisation with which we are conquering the world.

PROF. J. L. REIMER, *ibid.*, p. 31.

THE good God would not have given himself so much trouble over our German country if he had not reserved a great destiny for us. We are the salt of the earth. . . . God has made us for civilising the world.

KAISER WILHELM II: Extract from Speech on leaving for Tangier: 1906. Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 113.

O MY successor, thou who art still to be born, and who after me wilt tell the story of our people, how one is tempted to say of thee, with the jovial German chronicler of the sixteenth century, 'What sublime task confronts thee?' We, historians of the year 1900, make an effort to comprehend the heroic labour accomplished by our people of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, we strive to penetrate into the essence of that admirable colonisation of territories to the East of the Elbe; but thou, towards the year 2000, thou wilt be concerned rather with other exploits: thou wilt tell how the German name was spread over all the universe. . . . And God desires thee to be able to give as epigraph to this narration, both modest and proud, that phrase which, so often, we repeat as a vow: 'One day Germanism will once more restore the health of the world' (*und es soll am Deutschen Wesen, noch einmal die Welt genesen*).

KARL LAMPRECHT. 1913, pp. 495 ff.

. . . Our round tour over the frontiers of the Reich is ended. It has been able to provide us with only a rapid survey: that is inevitable. The gushing life of Germanism in Central Europe is too rich. But it leaves us with one fixed impression: namely, that, despite the weak points in the German Empire and the border countries, despite mischance here and faults committed elsewhere, we advance, we advance towards the extended spaces which we anticipate.

And the Empire appeared to us as the core and the centre of all the future. Not as the close of an epoch, but as the product of the ages and of men who were creators, generators of thought and filled with an unconscious desire which, even then, seized upon the distant future. And how German it is, this Reich, in its faults and its virtues, although a tenth of its population speaks foreign languages! How we must dedicate our life to it, if we wish to dedicate our life to Germanism!

But higher than the Empire rises a more sacred conception, the sole entity which elevates us and makes us stronger, gives us consolation and pride beyond the brief moments when the political creations are born and die: the conception of Country.

And if, with Ernst Moritz Arndt, we ask ourselves: What is the country of Germany? may we not answer, also with Arndt:

"It must be the total Germany."

KARL LAMPRECHT. 1913. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 411.

WE must dominate or be slaves. . . . Let the world once more be regenerated by German genius! That is our mission in the history of the world: no power can take it from us.

Die Post, Jan. 1913.

GERMANY'S military future depends on the extent to which her democracy is filled with the national idea.

FRIEDRICH NAUMANN. 1913. Bibl. V, 120, p. 102.

THE German people is always right, because it is the German people and numbers 87 million souls.

O. R. TANNENBERG. 1911. Bibl. IX, 153, p. 231.

WE have recognised in ourselves, in us Germans, a factor as powerful as it is necessary for the development of all humanity. Our knowledge of this fact imposes on us the obligation to assert our intellectual and moral influence as far as possible, and to open out all over the world a free road to German labour and German idealism.

But we can fulfil these higher tasks of civilisation only if our civilising work is carried on and sustained by increasing *political* power, a power which must find its expression in an enlargement of our colonial domain, the extension of foreign commerce, the greatest possible diffusion of Germanism in all the regions of the earth, and, most of all, in the complete consolidation of our power in Europe.

F. VON BERNHARDI. 1912. Bibl. VI, 8, p. 8.

. . . the conviction forces itself upon us irresistibly that a high, indeed the highest significance must be attributed to the German people in the development of the whole of humanity.

F. VON BERNHARDI. 1913. Bibl. VI, 9, 6th edition, p. 77.

HIGHER MISSION OF UNITED GREAT GERMANY

REMEMBER that you are a chosen people! The spirit of the Lord has descended upon me, because I am Emperor of the Germans!

I am the instrument of the Most High.

I am His sword, His representative.

Woe and death to all those who resist my will! Woe and death to those who do not believe in my mission! Woe and death to the cowards!

Let them perish,—all the enemies of the German people!

God demands their destruction,—God who, through my mouth, commands you to execute His will.

KAISER WILHELM II: Proclamation to his Eastern Army
(1914). Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 123.

WHILE other nations were able to expand, divided the earth among themselves, helped themselves with both hands, we had to look on, be modest, restrict ourselves, and nearly always apologise for existing at all. . . . This unworthy state of affairs has ceased and will not, must not return. That is the highest aim we are fighting for: Germany shall be secure and free, shall be able to go her way with head erect, as befits the greatest and strongest nation, a nation that has truly worked and achieved enough for mankind.

DR. J. HALLER.¹ 1914. Bibl. VIII, B. 29,
pp. 23-4.

WE want to become a world-people. Let us remind ourselves that the belief in our mission as a world people has arisen from our originally purely spiritual impulse to absorb the world into ourselves.

FRIEDRICH MEINECKE. 1914. Bibl. VIII, B. 66, p. 37.

IF we are beaten—which God and our strong arm forbid—all the higher Kultur of our hemisphere, which it was our mission to guard, sinks with us into the grave.

PROF. A. VON HARNACK, *Internationale Monatschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik*,
1 Oct. 1914, p. 26.

AND to-day: We must acquire to-day with the sword, in order to possess that which we have inherited: the Reich and its unity. And a still greater task falls upon us: not merely to maintain the Reich, but to raise it to a new, higher destiny.

ALOIS RIEHL. 1914. Bibl. VIII, A. 55, p. 4.

¹ Johannes Haller (1865-), Professor of History at Tübingen University.

HIGHER MISSION OF UNITED GREAT GERMANY

THE turning-points in the history of German unity, the years 1813, 1870, 1914, follow one on another in dramatic progression. The present year also denotes only a stage in this development, not its peak. Soon the contours of the new time which shall follow on this great time will become visible.

ALOIS RIEHL. 1914. Bibl., *ibid.*

3016 High School teachers declare that: 'the welfare of the entire culture of Europe depends on the victory of Germany'.

Declaration of High School Teachers of the
German Reich, 19 Oct. 1914.

Special Cable to the *New York Times*.

LONDON, Oct. 28.—The *Daily Chronicle* publishes a translation of a letter, written by Privy Counsellor Dr. Adolf Lasson, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Berlin, to a friend in Holland. He says:

"For months I have not written to a single foreigner; foreigner means enemy *dum probatur contrarium* (till the contrary is proved). No one can remain neutral to the German State and people. Either you consider it the most perfect creation that history has produced up to now, or you acquiesce in its destruction; nay, in its extermination.

... "Wilhelm II, *deliciae generis humani* (delight of the human race), had in his possession a power with which he was in position to smash everything; yet he has always protected peace, justice and honour. The greater his successes, the more devout and humble he has become. Our army is the epitome of German excellence."

From letter by DR. LASSON. 1914. Bibl. I, 13, pp. 76-7.

AT the beginning of the nineteenth century we were known as the people of poets and thinkers; we were probably called the Indians of Europe. To-day we are a people of technicians, of world-conquering trade, of grandiose industry; to-day we are probably called the Americans of Europe. Indians and Americans—a tremendous contrast.

But have we denied ourselves by devoting our attention to the visible world, by developing power on land and at sea, by assuming the leadership in industry and technique? Have we thereby denied our true inner character? No, a thousand times no. We have not denied ourselves, but have instead revived and raised to an unprecedented level an essential characteristic of our own nature that has always existed. For we are not only a people of poets and thinkers,

which might easily be rendered as dreamers and visionaries; we entered into History as a martial, war-like people, we destroyed the great Roman Empire, and we not only destroyed it, but built new empires on its ruins, created a Roman-German Empire. By that alone we have shown that we can achieve something in the practical world.

RUDOLF EUCKEN.¹ 1914. Bibl. VIII, A. 12, pp. 5-9.

GERMANY ought and wishes to remain alone. The Germans are the chosen people of the earth. They will accomplish their destiny, which is to govern the world and to direct other nations for the good of humanity.

PROF. VON SEYDEN. 1914. *Frankfurter Zeitung*.
Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 74.

GERMANY is the country of the centre, German culture occupies a central position.

All European culture, which is also the true universal human culture, gathers as though focused on this German soil and in the hearts of the German people. It would be stupid to wish to express oneself with modesty and reserve on this question. We Germans represent the latest and highest that European culture has produced; that is the basis for the strength and plenitude of our self-reliance.

ADOLF LASSON. 1915. Bibl. VIII, A. 52, p. 6.

OUR enemies are fighting us in order to restore to the world the freedom, the Kultur which we threaten. What monstrous mendacity! Reproduce if you can the German national school teacher, the German head-master, the German University professor! You have lagged far behind us, you are hopelessly inferior! Hence your chagrin, your envy, your fear! Powerless to rival us, you foam with hate and rage, you make unblushing calumny your weapon, and would like to exterminate us, to wipe us off the face of the earth, in order to free yourselves from your burden of shame.

ADOLF LASSON. 1915. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 38.

IT would be impossible to be neutral *vis-à-vis* Germany and the German people. Either Germany is regarded as the most perfect political creation that History has known, or one approves of her destruction, her extermination. A man who is in no way German

¹ Rudolf Christoph Eucken (1846-1926), philosopher; Professor at Basel and Jena; Nobel Prize winner, 1908.

HIGHER MISSION OF UNITED GREAT GERMANY

knows nothing of Germany. We are morally and intellectually superior to all others: without equal. It is the same with our organisations and our institutions.

ADOLF LASSON, *Letters*. Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 43.

WE must develop, not into "Europeans" but into ever higher Germans. . . .

What kind of European would be formed by a mixture of the heroic German with the calculating Englishman? If the result was a man who thought half calculatingly and half heroically, it would be an exaltation for the Englishman, but a degradation for the German.

O. A. H. SCHMITZ. 1915. Bibl. IX, 129A, p. 125.

As the German bird, the eagle, hovers high over all the creatures of the earth, so also should the German feel that he is raised high above all other nations who surround him, and whom he sees in the limitless depth beneath him.

WERNER SOMBART. 1915. Bibl. VIII, D, 192, p. 143.

WE understand all foreign nations, none of them understands us, and none of them can understand us.

WERNER SOMBART. 1915. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 135.

WE must vanquish, because the downfall of Germanism would mean the downfall of humanity.

PASTOR K. KÖNIG, *Sechs Predigten*, 1915.
Bibl. I, 6, p. 99.

"THE word *allddeutsch* [all-German, Pan-German.—*Translator*] represents a higher degree of the simple *deutsch*."

Alldutsche Blätter, 1915, p. 398.

As was Israel among the heathen, so is Germany among the modern nations—the pious heart of Europe.

PASTOR TOLZIEN. 1915. Bibl. VII, 22, quoted I, 6,
p. 136.

GERMANY is the centre of God's plans for the world.

PASTOR WALTHER LEHMANN. 1915. Bibl. VII, 15,
quoted I, 6, p. 78.

IN view of this the German people can no longer, in its false modesty, deny to itself with whom truth, right and moral efficiency lie in this

war. Consciousness of its world moral mission, faith in the wish summarised by Emanuel Geibel in 1861 in these words:

‘Und es mag an deutschen Wesen
Einmal noch die Welt genesen’

(German character may yet be
the salvation of the world),

will be hammered together for it with iron blows.

DR. FRITZ BRÜGGEMANN, *Die Einheit Europas*,
Bonn, 1915, p. 37.

“WITHOUT Germanism humanity would have no soul and would be a headless trunk. My dear boys, I am not telling you this because I believe I am a German man. I would have to say the same to myself if I were an honest Englishman.”

Volkserzieher, 1915, no. 10.

PEOPLE must learn to realise that he who cannot be German is a pariah.

HOUSTON STEWART CHAMBERLAIN,¹ *Volkserzieher*,
1915, p. 617.

... the good qualities of German art ... Faithful and honest imitation of nature, earnestness and simplicity of conception, strength and depth of feeling, industry and conscientiousness in technique.

Not that these qualities are entirely lacking in the art of other nations. There have always been artists in Italy, France and Spain whom we can praise on account of them. This is not surprising when we remember that there has been some German blood flowing in the veins of all these nations ever since the Migration of Peoples.

KONRAD LANGE. 1915. *Bibl. X*, 3, p. 16.

WHERE in the whole world can a people be found who have such cause for manly pride as we! But we are equally far removed from presumption and arrogance!

PASTOR J. RUMP. 1915. quoted I, 6, p. 117.

¹ Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927), Englishman, born in Portsmouth; married Wagner's daughter Eva in 1908, and went to Bayreuth; a leading advocate of 'Germanism', wrote *Foundations of the 19th Century* in exaltation of the 'Aryan spirit'; also published studies on Wagner, Kant and Goethe.

THE world war has already proved that the European nations will not seriously doubt the beginning of a world organisation under German leadership.

Alldeutsche Blätter, 29 Jan. 1916.

THE words, 'German character shall be the salvation of the world', contain no vain exaggeration, for the whole inward development of the European world has for more than a thousand years borne first a Teutonic, then an increasingly Germanic character. Civilisation means outlook, and the German outlook is the most fertile, the most magnificent, because it rests on a deep idealism that springs from the inmost character of our nationhood.

MAJOR-GENERAL KEIM, *Volkserzieher*, 1916,
no. 2, p. 9.

AND we Germans have always been a nation of masters and rulers. Not a slave nation like all the Slavs. Slav and Slave is one and the same thing. Not a nation of shopkeepers and pirates like the British and the Americans, not an effeminate nation like the French and Italians.

WILHELM SCHWANER,¹ "Bitte der Hakenkreuzer"
(Prayer of the Swastika-Men), *Volkserzieher*,
1916, no. 16.

FOR, whether we wish it or not, historical development is inexorably confronting us with the choice: either as the outpost of Germandom to render our position as a world power unassailable, or to renounce altogether the accomplishment of our national life-task. The voice of world history is clearly calling us to the hour which shall bring the secular decision of the national destiny, to its Now or Never. We would not only be untrue to ourselves, but would be practising treachery to humanity if we wished to be deaf to that call.

OTTO VON GIERKE. 1917. Bibl. VIII, D. 78.

THE German people has been industrious, self-reliant, ambitious, inventive in all spheres; it worked both intellectually and physically.

¹ Wilhelm Schwaner (1863-), editor from 1897 of the periodicals *Volkserzieher* and *Upland*; in 1894 editor-in-chief of *Kieler Neueste Nachrichten*, later of the *Volkstimme* and the *Versöhnung*.

BUT there have been those who did not want to work, but wanted to rest on their laurels. They were our enemies. We angered them through our prosperous development, our industry and science, our art and popular education, social legislation, etc. That raised our nation to a high place, and then came envy. Envy caused our opponents to fight, and so the war came over us who had no idea of it.

WILHELM II, Address to Officials and Workers
at Krupp's, 11 Sept. 1918. Bibl. II, 11,
Vol. 34, I, pp. 394-5.

FOR not only its non-political character, but all or practically all its capital possessions predestine the German people to the leadership in the new socialistic world phase. . . .

Here I wish to emphasise only three of its principal features. . . . One is the aristocratic character, the basic character of the German people. . . . The second principal feature I have in mind is the German veracity. . . . The German people really is the most veracious and consciously responsible of all those who inhabit Europe; it once more demonstrated this by the profound self-contemplation which it undertook during the last phase of the war, by its exaggerated readiness to recognise all, even its least guilt, and to bear the consequences. . . . The third principal feature to which I wished to draw special attention is the conservative-organic feature of the German character.

COUNT HERMANN KEYSERLING. 1918-19. Bibl. VIII,
A. 27 (b), pp. 72 ff.

THE economic is now Germany's greatest capacity ; in that respect it is in advance of all the other peoples of Europe.

COUNT HERMANN KEYSERLING. Bibl., *ibid.*,
p. 198.

WHAT the enemy allows to us and praises in us, must be bad for us.

ERICH LUDENDORFF. 1922. Bibl. VI, 38, p. 334.

IF the German people had possessed that safe herd instinct based on blood—the German Reich would probably to-day be mistress of the globe. . . .

ADOLF HITLER. Bibl. I, 43, p. 437.

... The work that the Germans now had to perform rose above that of other nations. The independence and superiority of German science was also achieved—of science in all spheres, and not least political science and the sciences of law and history.

G. VON BELOW. 1924. Bibl. VIII, B. 10, p. 9.

THE present state of the world is confused, because there is neither a master State above the States, nor a master class above the classes.

FRANZ HAISER. 1926. Bibl. VIII, A. 20, quoted in
Bibl. I, 30, p. 44.

THE world of ideas which has derived from the French Revolution with its forms of expression, Liberalism, Democracy, Nationalism, Pacifism, Internationale, must be mastered by a *Higher World Conception*.

Stahlhelm Calendar, 1932.

THE frontier of Western civilisation was always placed at the point where German colonisation had come to a standstill.

OSWALD SPENGLER. 1933. Bibl. VIII, A. 68, p. 25.

OUTWARDLY characterised by readiness to serve, obey, renounce, inwardly free from the limitations of mundane life, rich in tender feeling and possessing that genuine simplicity which we observe in Queen Luise, William I, Bismarck, Moltke, Hindenburg and, indeed, in the whole of the older type of Prussian officer—the individual was impelled by an almost undogmatic, modestly concealed devotion that found its outward manifestation in dutiful *action*, not in a profession of faith.

OSWALD SPENGLER. 1933. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 41.

... It was only my firm confidence in the inexhaustible resources of Germany that gave me the courage to agree to my first and second elections to the Reich Presidency.

This rocklike faith also lent me the inner strength to carry out my difficult office. The last part of my life has also been the most difficult for me. Many have failed to understand me in these confused times and to grasp that my only care has been to lead the dis-united and discouraged German people back to self-conscious unity.

HIGHER MISSION OF UNITED GREAT GERMANY

. . . For a long time the world around us failed to understand that Germany must live, not only for her own sake, but also, as the standard-bearer of Western civilisation, for the sake of Europe. Hence the shackles that surrounded us could only be loosened step by step, without arousing an overwhelming resistance. If some of my old comrades at the time failed to grasp the inevitability of this method, history will judge more justly how bitter, but also how necessary many a State document signed by me was in the interests of the preservation of German life.

. . . I thank Providence for allowing me, in the evening of my life, to see the hour of recuperation. I thank all those who, with selfless patriotism, have collaborated in Germany's resurgence.

My Chancellor Adolf Hitler and his movement have made a decisive step towards the great goal of bringing the German people together to an inner unity above all differences of rank and class. I know that much remains to be done and I wish with all my heart that, behind the act of national resurgence and national coalescence, there should be an act of conciliation comprising the entire German Fatherland.

. . . I say farewell to my German people in the firm hope that that for which I longed in the year 1919 and which by a slow maturing process led to 30 January 1933, will mature to the complete fulfilment and consummation of the historic mission of our people.

In this firm faith in the future of the Fatherland I am content to close my eyes!

FIELD-MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG, Extract from
Testament, dated Berlin, 11 May 1934.

. . . The Germans have a special mission for all other nations. Their culture is the closest to a universal culture and therefore it must become the culture of mankind.

WALTER PEMBAUR, *Nationalismus und Ethik*,
1935, p. 178.

EUROPE—the whole world—can go up in flames. We don't care. Germany must live and be free.

ERNST RÖHM.¹ Bibl. I, 43, p. 128.

¹ Ernst Röhm (1887–1934), Chief of Staff of the Reich leadership of the National-Socialist Party; murdered by his Party Comrades, 30 June 1934.

WHILE in America the greatest emphasis is laid on the idea of *human rights*, in Germany, as the expression of other circumstances, men stress the idea of *human duties*. This is a fundamental distinction in politics and morals. The concept of duty expresses Germany's philosophy and view of life much better than the concept of rights possessed by individuals. . . .

From the concept of human rights, one passes easily and naturally to democracy, while from the concept of human duties one comes without much indiscretion to the Leader-State.

Der Nordwesten [German-Canadian weekly],
31 May 1939.

ONE nation in Europe must assert its authority over the others; one nation must set up an Imperial Right and establish a European "Nomos". Nationalism, an offspring of the French Revolution, must be overborne by a *new Imperialism*. Only the German nation can be agent of that new Imperialism. . . . There is one thing we strictly demand: *the "Imperium"*. Wherever "*Imperium*" is not granted to us, it must be taken by force. For we are not "equal" to others, we are "Germans".

WILHELM STAPEL. Bibl. I, 30, p. 609.

LOOK at a marching troop of German youths and realise what God has made them for. They are warriors by nature, and their calling is to rule.

WILHELM STAPEL. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 623.

Section 2

GERMAN IDEAS ON THE BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE. THE "LEBENSRAUM" THEORY. THE LEADER STATE

As far as Germany extends she is spoiling culture.

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, *Ecce Homo*.

In their intellectual isolation the German philosophers and savants, historians and politicians represented German civilisation and culture as the summit of human development, and in the name of this usurped superiority proclaimed the right of Prussian Pangermanism to subjugate by force and violence.

T. G. MASARYK.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Obviously, a nation which is chosen and called to the government of the world must first have its "living space". The conception of European equilibrium is in that nation's view fundamentally false, since it sets limits to German dynamism, which can have no limits but the limits of the world. Although Wilhelm II's favourite conception, 'a place in the sun', renamed Lebensraum by Adolf Hitler, and now, for German diplomatic requirements, in turn become Ordnungs-Raum, came into being during the first half of the nineteenth century, and thereafter was a permanent concept in German literature, it does not connote something geographically defined. It is a variable conception, whose application is dependent only on German strength. Fundamentally, Lebensraum connotes in German minds all the accessible world, on the whole of which they would like to impose their pax Germanica.

As a chosen nation, Germans do not bother to inquire why German Lebensraum has to arise on the ruins and rubble of other nations who, making no claim to Lebensraum, none the less have at least a right to life and the right to preserve the heritage of their forefathers.

The theory of Lebensraum is complemented by another theory, namely that just as at the head of a nation must be a Führer, so among the nations there must be a Führer-Staat, to which all others must be subject and obedient. The Germans, of course, have no doubt whatever that this Führer-Staat should be the Reich.

WE fully realise that for the foreigner the idea of an artificial equilibrium may be a consoling dream in the midst of the defects and evils which overwhelm him, but that this foreign product could never take root in a German spirit and that the Germans could never fall into such a state that this idea could take any root in them. We thoroughly realise the inanity of this idea and recognise that general health could not come from such an equilibrium, but will come solely from the unity of the Germans among themselves.

J. G. FICHTE, "Reden an die Deutschen Nation".
Bibl. VIII, A. 14, Vol. vii, pp. 464 ff.

EVERY State is entitled to make resolute demands upon other States, if these latter unjustly take from it the air and light in which, *in its own opinion*, it must grow and develop.

ERNST MORITZ ARNDT. 1803. Bibl. VIII, B. 1,
p. 326.

THE possibility of the small States resisting the great States is henceforth past; the sovereignty of the German States has developed to a point at which this possibility no longer exists. Therefore the States of Germany have not passed from unity to a state of absolute division, but have passed at once to unions of a different kind.

Religion and political autonomy were formerly the centres of interest around which was grouped the body of the German State; it was around these two centres that their political system gravitated. But those centres of interest have vanished.

G. W. F. HEGEL, *Die Verfassung Deutschlands*.
Bibl. VIII, A. 22, Vol. vii, p. 116.

THOR stood on the world's nocturnal edge,
His battle axe, his heavy battle axe he threw,
"As far as the whizzing hammer falls,
I am master of the land and the seas!"

And the hammer flew out of his hand,
Flew over the whole of the earth,
Fell down on the edge of the extreme South,
So that all might be his own.
Since then it's a glad German right
To acquire land with the hammer.
We are of the tribe of the God of the Hammer,
And will acquire his world empire.

Prof. FELIX DAHN (1834-1912), historian, jurist and poet.

THE old century saw a German Europe; the new one will see a German world. To attain that consummation two duties are required from the present German generation—to keep its own counsel and to create a strong naval force.

Koloniale Zeitschrift, 18 Jan. 1900.

EVERY great people needs new territory; it must expand over foreign soil; it must expel the foreigner by the power of the sword.

KLAUS WAGNER. 1906. *Bibl. V*, 203, p. 80.

AN entire people can no longer, as the army of Thrasybulus did formerly, find its country on its ships. A people has need of land for its activity, of land for its alimentation. And no people has so great a need as the German people, which multiplies so rapidly and whose ancient homeland has become dangerously restricted.

If we do not soon acquire new territories, a frightful catastrophe is inevitable.

It signifies little whether it be in Brazil, in Siberia, in Asia Minor or in South Africa, provided we can again offer light and air, healthy and in abundance, to our children. To-day, as 2,000 years ago, when the Cimbri and the Teutons beat at the gates of Rome, a cry arises, sometimes full of anguish and unassuaged desire, sometimes provocative and confident, and resounds ever louder and louder: 'Give us land, give us new land!'

It is unquestionable that our acquisition of new lands cannot be achieved without war.

Has a world empire ever been founded without sanguinary conflict? Our fear is not that we shall have the worst of it in this gigantic conflict, our anxiety is rather that they may not say of us as the Carthaginian cavalry general cried to Hannibal: *Victoria uti nescis*.

... The great gentlemen of our colonial policy, Wörmann, Scharlach, Douglas, are simultaneously the great protectors or the associates of the great protectors of our industry, our maritime commerce, and our fleet. It is certainly cheering to think that after crushing France by blood and iron, we are on the way to crushing England by our industry. It was high time to recall to us our glorious Hanseatic League and for our commercial flag to carry the German name anew along all coasts. It is, strictly speaking, an imperious necessity, a vital question for the nation that a strong naval fleet should be built. ...

PROF. ALBRECHT WIRTH. 1905. *Bibl. VIII, B*, 109, p. 226.

THE vision of many politicians does not go beyond Central and western Europe, and they consider the relations between Germany and France as the burning question of European politics. For the political geographer, on the other hand, the political situation of the present time is determined primarily by the abnormal repartitioning of the political spaces and of the forces conferred together with those spaces. The political equilibrium, a hoary, age-old dream of European politicians, is only a meaningless word when the Russian Empire is forty-five times as large as Germany or France, or when Germany with its colonies continues to be only one-eighth the size of the British Empire. And, nevertheless, it is more than a meaningless word, for the effort to restore the equilibrium in this inequality is the disturbing factor of our time. From brutal conquest to silent infiltration into foreign spheres of influence, from the construction of armoured vessels to the conclusion of alliances or treaties of commerce and friendship, there is no means at the service of the expansion of political power which has not been applied in the rivalry of States which disputed over space, the effectives of the superior population, and the contingents of force.

... No matter which way we look, we see that spaces are conquered and spaces are ceded. We see retrogressions and progressions on all sides. How mad would a people be who believed that their destiny had been decided in past centuries, at a time when the first partitions of territories, of power and of influence among the overseas peoples were taking place!

This opinion has often been expressed in Germany. Because in the 16th and 18th centuries we lacked favourable opportunities to establish colonies in the temperate zones, must we be condemned, seated on the bank of the river of history, to let the wave which brings well-being with it pass? There will always be master-peoples and slave-peoples. The peoples themselves have only the choice between being anvils and hammers. To know whether they will be the one or the other depends on the intelligence which they possess at the opportune moment, and upon what the world situation demands from a people anxious for its great future. The problem of the Prussia of the 18th century, in the midst of the continental powers of Europe, to conquer its position as a Great Power was not different from that of the Germany of the 19th century to assert itself in the midst of world Powers. This problem can no longer be resolved in Europe. Only as a world Power can Germany hope to guarantee her people the soil

which she needs for her enlargement. She has no right to remain outside the transformations and the new partitions which are occurring or are being announced in all the continents. Otherwise, as in the 16th century, she will again risk being thrust into the background for a number of generations. And that is why the question of a *fleet* is so important for Germany.

FRIEDRICH RATZEL. 1905-6. Bibl. VIII, E. 15 (*Flottenfrage und Weltfrage*), pp. 375 ff.

AN industry, declares von der Bruggen, which produces primarily for export, places its own country in dependence on foreign countries and will always be exposed to the fluctuations of the foreign markets.

Such are England and Belgium. So far the German market has been strong enough to keep our home industry as a whole on its feet. It is to be desired that this state of things should last; it would be a catastrophe if our economic life were to place us in the same situation as England. God preserve us from becoming an industrial State at that price!

... But Germany has no lands; and from the viewpoint of food requirements we shall be more and more subjected to foreign countries. That is one of the most vulnerable points of the out-and-out pacifists who consider the national unities of to-day as definitely fixed.

... For the best, the most equitable social organisation would be unable to give more than it has, and the best social organisation of the German Empire cannot guarantee that foreign lands will always provide us with the produce indispensable to life. In brief, so long as we are dependent upon abroad for our subsistence, so long as we do not form an economic aggregate, socialism at home will be a chimera which will offer rather less guarantees than the present powerful militarist State.

Therefore, our first demand will be: 'Give us more land.' To achieve this result, we cannot, we must not and we do not wish to rely upon a future hypothetical State, but upon the 'real force of the German Reich' (Count von Bülow in the Reichstag). This demand is not arbitrary and immoral, but is necessitated by the fundamental law of economic life and of the organism which needs a healthy field in order to demonstrate its power.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl. VIII, B. 81, p. 115.

If it came about that, as appears so spontaneously achievable in France and in many parts of the European world, we could legally impose and successfully regulate contraception for those peoples, we would then have taken a great step forward. . . . It would be decidedly the simplest thing in the area of the Reich's territory, if the expansion of the Germans could be balanced by the extinction of the non-Germans.

J. L. REIMER. 1905, *ibid.*, pp. 160-2.

HENCEFORTH France in its quality of independent State cannot hope to preserve its Germanic impress for long.

Prussian Germany has therefore the duty, as the predominant Germanic Power, and since the Germanic Empire has become impossible under French hegemony, to found a new Empire under German hegemony. This single point of view must guide us in our struggle against the peoples, streaming with Germanic blood, who surround us. It is imposed upon us by fidelity towards ourselves and towards Germanism, the foundation of our culture and of the European civilisation which we incarnate.

. . . We desire and we must create a Germanic Reich, a world empire under German hegemony. To succeed in this in practice, we must:

a. Germanise the Scandinavian States and the Low Countries (denationalising them in the weakest sense of this word).

b. It is necessary to disintegrate the 'non-German' peoples into their elements, to attract their Germanic essence to us, to make them German and to expel that which is 'non-German' in them. Thus we shall give:

1. A new vigour to the Germanic character of the German people.

2. In the case of the 'non-Germanic' peoples we shall emancipate and rescue the Germanic blood threatened with extinction.

3. We shall extend the Empire without falling into universalism.

4. We shall return to the primitive Germanic race, while conquering new territories, diffusing our race over new domains; we shall thus have a vaster territory and a purer race. . . .

J. L. REIMER. 1905, *ibid.*, pp. 125 ff., 137 ff.

WE could give short shrift to the Slavonic stocks, the Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, and to some extent the Poles and so on, and because of their immediate neighbourhood and the great danger of mixing blood despite the 'civitas' conception, and also because of their propor-

tionately great increase, we must accelerate and above all take in hand the process of racial differentiation, their expropriation and the insistence on their being childless. But for France the *civitas Germanica* conception will at present satisfy us for the greater part.

J. L. REIMER. 1905, *ibid.*, p. 165.

WE desire and must desire: a *Germanic-Stock* Empire of the German nation, a world Empire of German stock under the hegemony of the German people.

J. L. REIMER. 1905, *ibid.*, p. 137.

IF Germany pursues this policy [a world policy dictated by economic necessities.—*Ed. note*] with the clear realisation of the end to be achieved, she will succeed in gaining numerous supporters with forces susceptible of being developed. By the application of that policy which is imposed upon modern Germany, the part still autonomous, but menaced in its independence by the Mohammedan world, as well as a large part of the Asiatic world, with their energies drugged for the most part, but very capable of developing, could form energetic and necessary counterweights to the menacing superiority obtained by any power whatever and by its political tendencies.

The more States and nations are exterminated, the more difficult will it be to maintain equilibrium among the Powers which have absorbed them. It is by being awake to the fact that the exuberant forces of those Powers which are in themselves a menace and a danger to world peace, are continually restrained by the existence, the maintenance, and the always increasing internal force of independent counterweights that Germany will best play the rôle of assuring universal peace. A Morocco fully developing all its energies, a Persia, a Turkish Empire, a China, a South America, becoming always internally stronger, will not menace the peace of the world, but will neutralise and restrain the menacing preponderance of England, of Japan, of the United States, of Russia or also of France; they will contribute to the prevention of any one of these Powers extending its monopoly in a manner intolerable to the economic expansion of Germany, or letting itself be dragged into a frivolous war in order to satisfy its political avarice.

. . . The system of European equilibrium which was formerly the guiding principle of our diplomacy must be replaced to-day, and will be quite naturally replaced in the history of to-morrow, by an international system of forces reciprocally restrained all over the world.

If we must resign ourselves to seeing the development of the German energies restrained within certain limits, by the fact of the constraint exercised by England and the Franco-Russian alliance, it seems equitable to us—in revenge—that the British forces should in their turn be restrained by Japan and the United States, those of the United States by Japan and Russia, those of Russia by Japan, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, just as those of France are by Germany and also perhaps by North Africa. This reciprocal restraint will prevent the rise of any single Power to universal exclusive domination, a rise which—as the experience of all history teaches us—is always ephemeral and leads to serious catastrophes for all.

ARTHUR DIX.¹ 1911. Bibl. V, 35, p. 1 f.

GREATER Germany will be the aim and the task of the twentieth century! We will fill central Europe as an empire of colossal national power. We shall be in a position to meet the tasks and requirements that will arise thereafter.

OTTO RICHARD TANNENBERG. 1911. Bibl. IX, 153, p. 87.

A GROWING people on a confined territory, with comparatively adequate natural wealth, must not think otherwise than: *We want to work for the whole world, so that the whole world should have to work for us!* That is our way to become a master nation, that is our national destiny, that is the way to alleviate our social problems.

FRIEDRICH NAUMANN. 1913. Bibl. V, 120, p. 127.

... we demand elbow room for the Teutonic race, we demand space to increase our power, space to rule. . . . To wrest world power from the British seems to us a goal worthy of the sweat of the noble.

EDMUND WEBER, *Alldeutsche Blätter*, 1913, p. 227.

ONLY through the complete victory of German arms can the independence of Europe be secured.

CARL HAUPTMANN.² 1914. Bibl. IX, 60.

. . the consciousness has become deeply rooted in the German people that, through the present war, it has, above all, to carry out the

¹ Arthur Dix (1875-), economist and politician; journalist, and publisher of world political correspondence and periodicals. Authority on the Balkans. Editor of *Deutsche Bote* and *Weltpolitik*; pupil of Ratzel.

² Carl Hauptmann (1858-1921), poet and writer.

mission of avenging the white race on Britain, and that in view of Britain's privileged position in relation to Europe Germany's cause is Europe's cause. A federative union of Europe, through a free economic link-up under German leadership, such as that of the Middle Ages—this ought at some future time to be a goal that should not appear too high to the German people in return for the enormous sacrifices in blood and treasure which it is obliged to make in the present war.

FRITZ BRÜGGEMANN. 1915. *Bibl., op. cit.*, p. 37.

GERMANY takes up . . . a new, broader, more prominent attitude than before, a European attitude, against Eastern, semi-Asiatic Russia, against Oceanic, super-European Britain, against and above France, or perhaps beside and with France, according to the manner in which the settlement with her turns out. A new Central Europe under German leadership rises before us, as an image, as a picture, as a possibility: not one dominated by Germany, but over-topped and protected by Germany, with Germany, the German National State, which will remain such, as its core and mainstay; a Central Europe in which the Western and Southern Slavs, the European, Roman Catholic Slavs, will stand with us Germans (and who knows to what extent with the other Continental Germans), together with the Magyars, perhaps, one day, even other dependent States and tribes, on a far wider scale. It will not be possible for it to be a homogeneous political entity, not even a Federation but merely an Association of States, nor homogeneous in the racial sense, though Germanic in its basic element, but it can well be a unity in culture and external power—beside Russia and Britain, beside North America and the rising Empires of South America, beside Eastern Asia, it will be a world to itself, the newly welded old German world represented by the international war of to-day, the European-Continental world proper, with the many internal cultural divergencies, but also with the cultural similarities of the European Continent.

ERICH MARCKS. 1914. *Bibl.* VIII, B. 61, pp. 29-30.

THE first and most important of all national demands which we have to raise at the future conclusion of peace will have to be that of a very large colonial Reich, a German India. . . .

HANS DELBRÜCK.¹ *Bibl.* V, 30, p. 202.

¹ Hans Delbrück (1848-1929), historian and politician; Tutor to the future Kaiser; Professor at Berlin University; authority on military history and the art of war; leading exponent of 'war guilt lie' propaganda.

GERMANY has the right to extend her area of sovereignty according to her requirements, and the might to enforce this right against all opposition.

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN, *Zukunft*, 22 Aug. 1914,
p. 251.

GERMANY is not making this war in order to punish the guilty lands or to liberate oppressed peoples, and then to rest in the consciousness of her disinterested magnanimity. She is making it out of the immutable conviction that her labours give her the right to a larger place in the world and greater outlets for her activities.

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN, *Zukunft*, 17 Oct. 1914,
p. 70.

HERE I leave quite unsettled the forms in which the extension of the German economic area shall be accomplished. . . .

. . . We can quite well consider that only a little land will be annexed, and that the others will be united with the German Reich from the legal aspect in the form of a union of federated States, and, from the aspect of customs policy, in the form of a customs union. But the chief thing is that we must gladly accustom ourselves to the transformation of the old, self-contained national State with a few foreign nationalities in the frontier districts into an imperialistic State with a greater fluctuation of nationalities. Here German thought remains the clearly uniting factor. . . . In this State German Folkdom shall rank high above the other nationalities. . . .¹

DR. ADOLF GRABOWSKY.² 30 Sept. 1914. Bibl. IX, 49.

THE conclusion is that, cost what it may, we must extend our continental territory through this war. . . . It is not . . . sufficient that we should bind new areas to ourselves solely through a customs union; we must be master of these new territories in the military and diplomatic senses also.

DR. ADOLF GRABOWSKY. 28 Oct. 1914. Bibl., *ibid*.

¹ In *Das neue Deutschland*, a weekly for Conservative progress. Published by Dr. Adolf Grabowsky.

² Adolf Grabowsky (1880-), author; lecturer at the Berlin High School for Politics. Now lives in Switzerland.

THE LEADER STATE

THENCE it is clear that the will to world power must by its nature be insatiable; any state of satiation would be decrepit.

DR. ADOLF GRABOWSKY. 22 Dec. 1914. Bibl., *ibid*.

PRODUCTION in large quantities, which is particularly beneficial to the national economy, is possible only within large economic areas. Already Germany forms such an area. Together with its friends and allies it would form a huge economic area which would be beyond compare, except in the United States, and then we could lay down the law to the world.

MAX SCHUBERT (German manufacturer). 1914.
Bibl. I, 7, p. 444.

TO-DAY the German flag waves over the towers of Antwerp, it is to be hoped for ever.

Courier, 24 Oct. 1914.¹

GERMANY has the historic task of organising Europe under her leadership.

OTTO JULIUSBURGER, "Europa unter Deutscher Führung", in *Monistisches Jahrhundert*, 13 Nov. 1914, p. 651.

WE know: The German Eagle will spread its wings victoriously and rise to prouder altitudes than ever before. And we will know how to hold the lands that have been soaked with German blood for evermore. Ardent love for our German Fatherland makes us strong enough to make the greatest sacrifices. But let us, then, hold what we have conquered and, in addition, acquire what we want.

ERNST BASSERMANN, from a Speech (Dec. 1914)
at the farewell celebration of the National
Liberal fraction of the Reichstag.

SOFTNESS is vanishing and the country is demanding the ruthless employment of all military means. . . .

We are not chasing Utopias in the black continent, it is not there that our future lies. So long as Britain is able to close the realm of

¹ Central organ of German Transport Workers' Union.

proud Amphitrite, possessions in strange continents will be insecure possessions. . . .

Let the fruit ripen slowly, more slowly than we thought, but ripen it will, the strong, sunny power of Germanism will see to that. It is the duty of all patriots to see that no weakly desire for peace shall reach out as soon as a yielding enemy stretches out a hand towards us. That must not be. Bloody sacrifices have been made, and more will be made; they must give us the basis for a territorial development of our Fatherland, for frontiers in the East and West that will secure peace for us for generations. To-day everything is so wonderful, so lively, it is as though Bismarckian currents of fire were streaming through our people; it has become a people's war, such as the world has never seen.

ERNST BASSERMANN, *Deutscher Kurier*,
2 Aug. 1915.

THROUGH the war, through the internal peace which the war has brought and which we also desire at all costs to carry on into the peaceful times, we have new, youthfully fresh strength to acquire.

HEINRICH HERKNER. 1915. Bibl. VIII, D. 89, p. 29.

OUR greatest and politically vital problem is how we can further enlarge our present area for development—that absurdly small spot known as Germany, which on the map can be covered by a thumb.

ALFRED WEBER.¹ 1915. Bibl. VIII, B., 107.

ABOVE all, however, we must have more farm land. We need more space for settlement!

MAX VON GRUBER. 1915. Bibl. VIII, F. 5, p. 27.

BUT Listen! Amid the fervour of vows are mingled fearful, doubting voices. They dissuade from all thought of extension of frontiers, since otherwise the Reich would perhaps have to add still others to its foreign-speaking subjects or alter the relative numbers of the Christian confessions. . . . In all circumstances the requirements of foreign policy take precedence over the convenience of home policy. That which a Great Power requires for its basic importance, for an advantageous situation, for a strategic frontier, that which furthermore

¹ Professor at Heidelberg University.

a World Power also finds necessary, in order to move freely in world affairs and to secure its progress to the Sea against its rivals,—that also must be demanded for our Reich.

MARTIN SPAHN.¹ 1915. Bibl. VIII, D. 195, pp. 47 ff.

OUR economic basis must become broader for our own support in rivalry with foreign lands. For this we require a larger territorial scope than the German Reich permits.

MARTIN SPAHN, Reichstag leader of the Catholic Centre. Speech on 5 April 1916. *Kölnische Zeitung*, 6 April 1916.

IT is very clear to all of us that our frontiers in the east and west must be quite differently secured against brigand attacks than they are to-day, and that the main centres of our mighty industrial activity in the German west must in future have free access to the sea.

PHILIPP ZORN.² 1915. Bibl. VIII, D. 228.

WORLD history has so far been more willing to forgive all crudity rather than a lack of the will to power. Not 'live and let live', but 'live and decide the life of others', that is strength. . . . We dare not vacillate with the will to power. Talk of the rights of others is foolish, talk of justice which hinders us from doing to others that which we ourselves do not wish to suffer, is foolish.

CARL PETERS.³ 1915. Bibl. V, 129, p. 13.

GERMANY cannot confine itself to its European area, even if it is enlarged.

ALFRED HETTNER.⁴ 1915. Bibl. VIII, E. 8.

QUITE definitely, we desire not world hegemony, but world influence corresponding to the dimensions of our cultural, economic and military

¹ Martin Spahn (1875–), historian and politician; Professor at Strasburg and Cologne Universities; during the last war Reichstag leader of the Catholic Centre; Leader of the Young Conservative Movement and deputy for the German National Party; joined National Socialist Party, 1933.

² Philipp Zorn (1850–1928), authority on State, Church and International Law; Professor of German law and Church law at Berne, Königsberg and Bonn; took part in both Hague Conferences.

³ Carl Peters (1856–1918), founder of German East Africa; president of the 'Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft', was also a foundation member of the 'Alldeutsche Verband'.

⁴ Alfred Hettner (1859–), geographer; professor at Heidelberg University.

might. To achieve all the aims of national security at one stroke is not practicable, owing to the preponderance of our enemies. But the military results of this war, acquired with such great sacrifices, must be enjoyed, as far as the farthest limits of the attainable. That is—we repeat—the firm will of the German people.

Petition presented by Professors, 20 June 1915.

... Germany as the European Empire shall and must become the centre of power for order that will assure to her political as well as economic and moral predominance and self-confidence a true abiding place as *President of the Old World* . . . to be established and guaranteed.

BARON VON MACKAY. 1915. Bibl. V, 108.

HAVE a look round in Germany. What raw materials have we? Scarcely any, apart from iron and coal. . . .

Everything must be purchased abroad. And how is it paid for? It is paid for with the surplus value that we put into the raw materials through our labour and our brain. But the more we multiply the greater the portion of the German people that must be supported in this manner. . . .

When there are 100 millions of us, then two-thirds of the German people will depend on whether the required raw materials reach Germany or not. . . .

Looking at things from this angle, the conclusion emerges that it is not the individual questions that are important in relation to war aims, not whether we keep Belgium or return it, whether we reach Calais or not, whether we keep Lithuania and Courland or not, what becomes of Poland, whether we receive war reparations, etc. . . .

The only question that is of importance as regards the result of the war is: Shall we succeed in carrying off a victorious prize that will enable us to ensure our future against the threatening danger of being squeezed to death by the growth of foreign countries, by the superiority of the space available to the enemy?

PAUL ROHRBACH. 1916. Bibl. V, 158.

GERMAN world policy is based on the successes of our European policy. The moment the firm foundations of Germany's European power began to totter, the world political structure would also become untenable. It is conceivable that a world political reverse would

leave our position in Europe unaffected, but it is inconceivable that a sensible loss of power and prestige in Europe should not entail a corresponding shock to our world political position. We can only carry on a world policy on the basis of a European policy. The maintenance of our strong position on the mainland continues to be, as in Bismarck's time, the beginning and end of our national policy.

ERNST VON BÜLOW. 1916. Bibl. IX, 17,
p. 54.

SHOULD a programme adopted at some time or other somewhere or other really hinder Germans from adding provinces to their Fatherland, when their possession is desirable on national and political grounds? We are only against premature discussion.

Frankfurter Zeitung, 12 March 1915.

... The renunciation of all annexation demands is in itself not a serviceable peace programme. Social Democracy must put forward positive demands, and these demands can and must include modifications in maps. All must not remain as it was.

The 'Socialists', *Frankfurter Volksstimme*,
22 March 1915.

WE demand and expect a greater Germany!

It is not paper treaties that can be such real guarantees, but a firm grip of the conquered lands in our own hand.

The Catholic Centre: *Kölnische Volkszeitung*,
7 April 1916.

THE assertion that we are against all extension of Germany's provinces is as fabricated as the others.

Frankfurter Zeitung,¹ 17 Feb. 1916.

THE Chancellor of the Reich said: The Europe which will emerge from this war will be different from the old in many respects. After terrible happenings history knows no *status quo ante*. One must be a political babe to be persuaded that a whole section of the world can

¹ Democratic daily paper.

be in flames, that millions can be annihilated and shed their blood, without the shifting of a single frontier post which some fusty diplomat has once set up.

PHILIPP SCHEIDEMANN,¹ Speech in the Reichstag:
2 April 1916.

THE interests of the working class, whose representative is still Social Democracy, do not demand that there should be a new 'Nation' at every three miles, so applying the Self-determination theory in practice till further orders, but, on the contrary, that self-contained economic units as large as possible should arise, in which Capitalism and with it the proletariat could develop and go forward to confront their historical tasks.

PAUL LENSCH,² "Sozialismus und Annexionen
in der Vergangenheit", in *Glocke* (a
Socialist Weekly), 1 Jan. 1916, No. 9.

WE looked on calmly when France took Morocco, when Italy occupied Tripoli. We preserved a calm attitude in face of British expansion, because we wanted peace. . . . We see the guarantee of a durable peace only in a strong, invulnerable Germany, in security towards East and West. If Belgium is not to become an advanced fort for the enemy again, German military, political and economic supremacy in that country must be secured. At sea Germany must be the ruling power. . . . We will not give up the struggle for the world market. On the contrary. Together with our Allies we must create a Central Europe that should be economically and politically of the greatest importance.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN (National Liberal, Reichstag, 6 April 1916). Bibl. II, 11, pp. 732-3.

JUST as, according to Friedrich List's well-known simile, a twelve-year-old boy must be entitled to grow and to demand a larger pair of boots, so do we demand more space for our greater activity. The

¹ Philipp Scheidemann (1865-), Social Democratic politician; played leading part in founding the German (Weimar) Republic, in 1918; member of National Council; Reich Premier of the first Parliamentary Cabinet of the Republic; Oberburgomaster of Kassel.

² Paul Lensch (1873-1926), Socialist politician; Professor of Sociology and Economic History at Berlin University; Social Democratic Deputy in the Reichstag.

open door, equality, room for all—that is all that German imperialism means.

Thus, at bottom, this imperialism leads back to Liberalism and, if you will, to Pacifism.

Britain's historic lust for world dominion keeps her apart from all the other nations. Germany wants to shake off this yoke, thereby liberating all the others as well.

KARL KUMPMANN.¹ 1916. Bibl. VIII, D. 115, p. 45.

GERMANY, more than any other country, is predestined to be the bearer of the idea of federation (Central European Federation); it is the duty of all nations who are interested in the free development of the world to join with us.

KARL KUMPMANN. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 47.

HOWEVER, our power and our economic strength is based on our activities throughout the world. If we renounced them we should be undermining the foundations of our existence. . . .

The German people cannot again withdraw into its own house and confine itself to European neighbour-politics.

W. H. SOLF,² 1916. Bibl. V, 181, pp. 17-18.

Do not let us talk about peace, for such talk will be interpreted as weakness on our part and will only prolong the war. Let us cease making feeble, un-German pronouncements against territorial expansion. Let us rather be manly and say what we want, what we must and will demand as the price of victory. Let us act without regard to foreign countries. Then our opponents will see that we are strong, not weaker, but stronger than before, then they will realise that they have lost the game.

PRINCE ZU SALM-HORSTMAR (Member of the
Prussian Upper House), *Preussische
Kreuzzeitung*, 1 Jan. 1916.

THE restoration of German viability is not guaranteed by the *status quo ante*. It will also be necessary to make territorial changes; don't

¹ Karl E. W. Kumpmann (1883-), economist; Professor of Political Science at Bonn.

² Wilhelm Heinrich Solf (1862-), statesman; studied in London and the East; Governor of Samoa, when in German possession; State Secretary in the Reich Colonial Department, and in the Foreign Office; Ambassador to Tokyo.

let us hamper our statesmen with assertions to the effect that the German people do not want this.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Reichstag speech, 1 March 1917. Bibl. II, ii, p. 501.

WE do not desire to be thrown back to the position which rendered it possible for a hostile world conspiracy to threaten us with the danger of destroying our existence. Far more do we wish to create a world situation which will assure us for a considerable time against the repetition of such attempts at strangulation. But for this purpose we require a real extension of our political and economic might! The peace must bring us an extension of power in the east and the west, in Europe and overseas, since otherwise it will in truth connote a struggle for existence for us!

OTTO VON GIERKE. 1917. Bibl. VIII, D. 78, p. 5.

WE Germans will soon be a people of a hundred millions, settled in the middle of Europe in the most difficult position. Thus we are entitled to demand that the small foreign tribes on our borders should take our position into account. That is a demand of the highest moral justification. Here the right of the small finds its limitation in the right of the great for the highest moral reasons.

Dir. HAUX.¹ 1918. Bibl. VIII, D. 86A (I, 34, p. 327).

THE Germans have always been a nation of colonisers on the grand scale. The Teutonic hosts of the Migration of Peoples were, at bottom, nothing but colonists in search of land.

HUGO MARQUARDSEN.² 1918. Bibl. VIII, E. 11, p. 3.

THE demand for colonies was a logical outcome of the Reich idea and of the national economic policy. If Germany was to be a political and economic Great Power, she had to carry on not only a European but also a world policy; if German economy as a whole was to be strengthened, it was necessary to enter into world economy with trade, shipping, investment, banks, subsidiaries and branches.

A. SARTORIUS VON WALTERSHAUSEN. 1920. Bibl. VIII, D. 158, p. 343.

¹ Director of Krupp's Works in Essen.

² Geographical Rapporteur in the Reich Colonial Office.

. . . the coming State must be founded on the firm Imperial idea. . . . The old spirit of Prussia, the spirit of Potsdam, must and will come back.

OTTO BÖLITZ,¹ Jan. 1921. Bibl. I, 36, p. 126.

It is precisely the racially valuable component parts of our people . . . who are now, unfortunately, suffering so much by the contraction of living-space in Germany that they are restricting the number of their children even more, are marrying still later, and remaining unmarried in still greater numbers. For all our miseries derive from the fact—or are at any rate grown so bad only because of the fact—that the German territorial area is too small. In overpopulated Germany the German people are crowded together so much that the State and social life is like an overheated boiler. Not only has the risk of an explosion reached its greatest height, but the human masses crowded together are already choking, they have not enough light and air to live, they exhaust their strength in the ‘struggle for existence’ of one class of the population against another. What a terrible state of affairs that is for a great, cultured people, that her sons should reciprocally snatch the bread from one another’s mouths! At least every tenth man in Germany is ‘stood off’, jobless, workless. As the area of their food supply is inadequate, the Germans live in miserable, petty, oppressive relationships. That is the root of all the German evils, of all the economic and political difficulties. Therefore every good German politician must apply the lever at this point.

DR. GERSTENHAUER.² 1927. Bibl. V, 55, p. 107.

THEREFORE the only possibility which Germany had of carrying a sound territorial policy into effect was that of acquiring new territory in Europe itself. Colonies cannot serve this purpose as long as they are not suited for settlement by Europeans on a large scale. In the nineteenth century it was no longer possible to acquire such colonies by peaceful means. Therefore any attempt at such a colonial expansion would have meant an enormous military struggle. Consequently it would have been more practical to undertake that military struggle for new territory in Europe, rather than to wage war for the acquisition of possessions abroad.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 127–8.

¹ Became later Prussian Minister of Education.

² Geheimrat (Privy Counsellor) and Member of the ‘Stahlhelm’.

THE German Reich as a State must embrace all Germans, not only for the purpose of uniting and maintaining the most valuable racial elements of this nation, but also for the purpose of raising the German nation gradually and safely to a dominating position.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 439.

IN this connection, if we examine the chain of political vicissitudes through which our people have passed during more than a thousand years, recalling the innumerable struggles and wars and scrutinising it all in the light of the results that are before our eyes to-day, we must confess that from the ocean of blood only three phenomena have emerged which we must consider as lasting fruits of political happenings definitely determined by our foreign policy.

1. The colonisation of the Eastern Mark, which was mostly the work of the Bavari.

2. The conquest and settlement of the territory east of the Elbe.

3. The organisation of the Brandenburg-Prussian State, which was the work of the Hohenzollerns and which became the model for the crystallisation of a new Reich.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 527.

GERMANY will either become a World Power or will not continue to exist at all. But in order to become a World Power it needs that territorial magnitude which gives it the necessary importance to-day and assures the existence of its citizens.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 533.

OF course it is here presumed that Germany sees in the suppression of France nothing more than a means which will make it possible for our people finally to expand in another quarter. To-day there are eighty million Germans in Europe. And our foreign policy will be recognised as rightly conducted only when, after barely a hundred years, there will be 250 million Germans living on this Continent, not packed together like the coolies in the factories of another Continent, but as tillers of the soil and workers whose labour will be a mutual assurance for their existence.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 549.

PERHAPS someone will answer: Why don't you reduce your population, instead of demanding more room? Why, on the contrary, is

the new Reich taking steps to increase the birthrate? To which we answer: Because we do not understand why one of the most valuable peoples in the world should go under, why a people should go under to whom man owes his greatest cultural benefits and progress, the most glorious contributions to his literature, to music, to the graphic arts!

RUDOLF HESS. 1938. Bibl. V, 86, p. 166.

GERMANY is now the only Great Power without any colonial possessions of her own. Her demand for the return of her former colonies—at present governed under a mandatory system—is the best possible proof of her sincere love of peace, because it is extremely unlikely that those territories would be of any use to her in the event of a war.

HJALMAR SCHACHT.¹ (1928.) Bibl. I, 25, p. 291.

ALL these circumstances have to be taken into account by those who want to understand the justice of Germany's Colonial claims on economic grounds. The fact that governs the whole situation is this: The centre of Europe is inhabited by a nation which, despite every effort made, finds it impossible to safeguard the foundations of its existence by making use of the resources provided by its native soil.

GENERAL VON EPP.² Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 303.

FOR the young Germany there are no formulas into which we can compress our national claim to existence. For us there can be no final balance of power, because we know that this balance changes from year to year under the pressure of the German impetus to live.

Völkischer Beobachter, 12 April 1939.

NEVER has a government had a greater chance than the national "combination" of January, 1933, to serve the realisation of a common, super-national order, at the same time as the rise of its own nation. A powerful Germany that had honestly and grandiosely called the smaller nations to a common *imperium et libertatem* and had en-

¹ Hjalmar Schacht (1877–), President of the Reichsbank, 1923; Chief Representative of the Reich on the Expert committee for the reparations question; 1934–1935 Reichsminister of Economics.

² Reich Governor in Bavaria, Reich Leader of the Colonial League and the Colonial Board of the National Socialist Party.

deavoured to lead instead of to rule, would have been bound to get hold of the key points of political development.

HERMANN RAUSCHNING. 1938. Bibl. V, 136 (a),
pp. 493-4.

THE operation of the 'law of space' . . . depends above all on the racial type of the people inhabiting it. There are peoples who allow their life to be determined to a considerable extent by space; there are other peoples, and these include, in particular, the Nordic-German nations, who mould space, who place its forces in their service, who, indeed, feed their own strength out of its resistance. . . . Thus the power of the blood confronts the resistances of the soil.

MARTIN ISKRAUT, "Die stammhaften Kräfte in der deutschen Geschichte", *Nationalsozialistische Schulungsschriften*, Vol. 2, 1939, p. 64.

Section 3

RACIAL PURITY. RACIAL PANGERMANISM. ARYANISM

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Obviously, a chosen nation may not be one of mixed race, for then it could justly be asked why, for instance, the Prussians, who are a race of mixed German and Slavonic blood, are entitled to govern the world, while a pure Slav is condemned by German Providence to the rôle of a slave. Germans arrived quite logically at the recognition of the necessity for the purity of the German, i.e. of the chosen race. Further consequences of this were the 'theory' of the Nordic race, the Aryan race, and so on, which the Nazis took word for word from the German literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Of course, the theoreticians of the Nordic race did not trouble about such a minor difficulty as the generally known fact that the Germans are par excellence a nation of mixed origin, that the southern and western Germans have a Latin admixture, while the Prussians are a synthesis, a truly unfortunate synthesis, of German and Slavonic elements, as one of the most eminent of Prussians, Bismarck, himself admitted. The political interests of Germany demand that the Germans should be authentic Nordics; German scientists will demonstrate that this is so in the sweat of their brows; but German politicians take it as a certainty, not even waiting for their scientists to propound their theories.

But it is amusing to note that there is one well-known German who has written that the Germans are a nation of mixed race. And his name is Adolf Hitler. Among our excerpts we give the relevant quotation from Mein Kampf, lest we should be charged with lacking in objectivity towards the Führer of the German Nation.

The result of this yearning of a mongrel nation for racial 'purity' was bound to be anti-Semitism, which was cultivated in Germany long before Hitler and, as the reader will observe, frequently found expression in German literature.

IF the mission which the modern Germans must fulfil is attentively examined, it is seen to be the same to-day as formerly.

They must be what their ancestors were, that for which nature itself has created them.

They are, they have been, they will be Aryans. They must live, struggle and even die for the preservation of this character which is inherent in them. For, it has to be said, the blood, the ancient blood of the ancestors, is of value only when other blood has been shed for it. Life is a state of defence. Our own blood revolts against foreign blood.

It is thus that Aryan blood is revolting and will revolt victoriously against all other blood.

JULIUS LANGBEHN. 1890. Bibl. IX, 92, p. 211.

ACCORDING to Herder, the entry of the Jews into European history corresponded to the intrusion of a foreign element. . . . It was quite otherwise in the case of the Germans. The barbarian who is ready to dash quite naked into the mêlée, this savage who rushes violently out of his forests and from his marshes to spread the fear of brutal conquest realised by strength of fist among a world of refined civilisation, is not any the less the legitimate heir of the Hellenes and the Romans, flesh of their flesh and spirit of their spirit.

It is his own property that he snatches, without thinking, from foreign hands. Without him, what would have happened to the Indo-European? By crime and by ambush, the African and Asiatic slave would have crept on to the throne, while the Syrian became the master of the laws, while the Jew bowed over the Alexandrine manuscripts in order to adapt the Hellenic philosophy to the law of Moses, and the Egyptian in order to bury within the sumptuous pyramids of his scientific systems the vital study of nature, mummified for centuries. . . .

H. S. CHAMBERLAIN. 1899. Bibl. VIII, A, 7, p. 463.

WITHOUT a doubt, Jesus had an Aryan exterior . . . thus Jesus travelled East and West, became acquainted with the mysticism of the Indians, then with that of the Greeks. . . . He became acquainted with the Aryans at least as individuals, and admired and recognised in them the race that represented a Chosen People even more than the Jews. Someone also initiated Jesus into the mystery of the Odyssey, and now the decision matured in him to fight for *Aryanism*.

Heimdall, 1901, p. 45.

RACIAL PURITY

THREE races principally will confront one another in the future: the Germanoid races, the Malayo-Mongoloid races, and the Negroid races.

We Germanoids, we shall conquer or we shall disappear completely, for conquered Germanoids cannot render to a victorious Mongol people the mean services of coolies; we are already too high for that.

We Germanoids have the strength to break and to tread underfoot the power and the future of the two other groups of races; we need only to get a clear understanding of this necessity, to prepare ourselves for vigorous action, and to keep our blood pure from all misalliance with foreigners, with bastards or feeble Germanoids.

Perhaps of all the Germanoid peoples the Germans alone will be left as the people of the future; just as, among the Indo-Europeans, the Germanoids alone have a future.

KLAUS WAGNER. 1906. Bibl. V, 204A, p. 128.

WE must never dare tolerate in our midst a greater, solid mass of individuals of foreign race with equal rights, for if we did, not only our present development, but still more that of the future would be destroyed.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl., VIII, B. 81, p. 53.

THE extent of the empire must not depend solely upon a momentary military superiority; it is necessary that it should depend upon the expansive force of the race and of its secondary ramifications.

If economic considerations demand that the countries still not colonised should be provisionally annexed, they will be regarded as reservoirs of future expansion.

This method of founding an empire demands less consideration for the subjects than the manner in which the Roman empire was founded. As there can be no question of a fusion of races, it will often be necessary to suppress them. Do not be afraid of this apparent lack of humanity.

The essential to the practical realisation of a world Empire, a root-stock Empire, is the effective existence of a culturally fit race which, owing to internal or external necessity, is driven on to the conquest of the world.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 57 ff.

THE expansive force of the spirit is represented in social life by the motive force; that of the body is manifested by the increase in population. Action and reaction occur between these two forces, and they are the origin of the new Germanic social miseries. The power of the Idea is on an equality with the vigour of the blood. What a social situation this double form of fecundity has created; and in the future cannot these same two factors harmoniously transform the present state of society? That which the creative German spirit has done with motorisation it must and can carry to perfection with motorisation. Onward to that which our intellectual and physical fecundity impels us: the conquest of the world!

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 64.

1. The acquisition of non-colonised countries is rather a social and economic necessity; the expropriation of the *non-Germans* a measure dictated by racial interests.

2. To preserve the purity of our race, it is necessary to forbid unions with non-Germans.

Our interest commands us not to perpetuate their undesirable race. It would be necessary to promulgate measures forbidding unions with non-Germans and condemning such unions to sterility.

We have very confused ideas as to everybody's right to perpetuate themselves; to us the right seems common to all humanity, to the infirm and the criminal. We have no suspicion of the laws of blood and the importance they possess; happily, a total revolution is being achieved in our ideas and, above all, in traditional morals, thanks to the influence of the natural sciences.

. . . We shall have made great progress if we succeed, by way of legislation, in forbidding the conception of new beings, as is freely practised in France and in several parts of Europe.

At first sight this project would seem to have no right to succeed. Nevertheless, our society progresses along the road of sterility and abortion when it knowingly commits a crime against the race.

Therefore, it does not seem to me impossible to obtain a tangible result, by means of regulative intervention on the part of the State.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl., *ibid.*,
p. 157 ff.

WHAT is . . . to happen to the people who can show no German blood, the non-Germans? Indulgence would be stupid; the indulgent

would be driving a wedge into their own body which we could not pull out of our own choice. If we were compelled to exterminate a nation created in the course of history, doing it in such a way as to disintegrate that nation into its basic racial elements, to take those belonging to our race, but to reject the foreign elements, that would provide no justification for being despondent and thinking ourselves inhuman.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 130.

WITH the aid of the idea of race I have replaced in its old framework the erroneous conception of humanity which has blinded us to the real humanity! It is only in the framework of Germanic humanity that this idea recaptures all its value and all its clarity.

For the cosmopolitan Utopian State of Humanity I have substituted the world Pangermanic Empire, the Empire of the Germanic race and humanity, the sole Empire which conforms to nature, of which I have outlined the essential features.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl., *ibid.*,
p. 387.

It is susceptible of anthropological proof that all European civilisation, even in the Slavonic and Latin lands, is a product of the German race.

LUDWIG WOLTMANN. 1903. Bibl. VIII, F. 42,
p. 293.

THE more active the better and equally endowed races are, the more violent and fecund becomes the vital competition let loose among them. It is a biological law that races which have the nearest parentage and who struggle for the same means of existence and development have to sustain the most violent struggle for life against one another. The events which have had the most serious consequences in the history of the world aristocracy and world civilisation were born of the antagonism and struggle among the Germanic races and heroes. The Papacy and the Empire are both German institutions, instruments of domination destined to subdue the world.

The Germanic race is called to fetter the earth in its domination, to exploit the treasures of nature and the physical forces of man, to perfect out of the passive races simple subordinate organs of the evaluation of its culture. There are sentimental politicians who dream of an alliance of all the Germanic races. However, Pangermanism is historically a *fait accompli*, and one asks in amazement

against whom this alliance is to be directed. For the German is the greatest and most dangerous enemy of the German. To wipe this enmity out of the world, to turn to the suppression of the fundamental conditions of development of civilisation: that would be a puerile attempt to oppose chimerical dreams to the laws of nature.

LUDWIG WOLTMANN. 1905. Bibl. VIII, F. 43,
p. 120 f.

Nor until racial consciousness has revived within us, not until we have conquered our national incompleteness and lack of dignity, will we energetically overcome racial and mixed race questions, such as Ultramontanism, Socialism, Jews, Poles and the Negro question.

CAPTAIN EBERHARD MEINHOLD, 1907.
Bibl. VI, 40.

So long as the Latin nations had pure German blood in their ruling families, they were powerful and unequalled in politics, art and science; nations truly favoured by God. But since the supply from the North has ceased they have become sterile and impotent; pygmies, bandits, robbers of the people and of the world. And the British and Americans differ but little from the Portuguese, Italians and French. And if the Germans do not soon protect their blood against Latin, Jewish and Slav importations—of blood and the spirit—then Europe will produce nothing but a racial and cultural mob.

WILHELM SCHWANER, *Volkserzieher*, 1912, p. 66.

REICHSHAMMERBUND, Monday, 2. Hornung's, 8.30 p.m., "Schloss-restaurant" (Mohn), Berlin-Lichterfelde, Sternstr. 12, Friedberg Schulze on "Science of Racial Physiognomy". Sunday, 21, Hornung's, 8.30 p.m., "Fürst Bülow" Inn (Saal), Berlin, W., Potsdamerstrasse 46, R. Burger-Willingen on "The Secret of the Human Shape". Practical demonstration of cranial measurements with the plastometer. Men and women of Aryan descent and German mentality welcome.

Advertisement of the "Reichshammerbund";
Volkserzieher, 1914, Supplement, p. 2.

WHAT I have said indicates what we must do in case of victory. We must do everything in our power to secure our national future, to strengthen our power to the point of invincibility.

However, this securing of our power cannot be achieved through the acquisition of the largest possible external possessions,—nothing but the internal strength of our people can give us security for all time. Racial hygiene must be our guide.

An indispensable requisite, above all, is a considerable increase in our population.

MAX VON GRUBER. 1915. Bibl. VIII, F. 5,
p. 25.

PURE in character as the famous German philosopher Kant was personally . . . I must bear witness to the truth and condemn his philosophy as an entirely anti-Aryan, and therefore anti-German philosophy. . . . His entire life-work was pronouncedly negativistic and disruptive. . . . He sinned against the mighty and deeply original genius of the pure Aryan Swedenborg through his 'Enlightening Satire'.

LANZ-LIEBENFELS, *Ostara* (periodical), no. 84.
Bibl. II, 22, p. 133.

THE concept of 'race swissification' is about identical with mongrelisation.

HANS VON LIEBIG.¹ 1921. Bibl. VIII,
F. 30 (II, 22, p. 24).

IF children from 12 years upwards in a certain country are shown two men in their nightshirts and they are unable to tell immediately which of the two is a minister and which a baker, then that people is racially 'swissified'.

HANS VON LIEBIG. 1921. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 24.

WHAT Swiss would ever think of extending the frontiers of his country in order to maintain a surplus population, or of founding a colony for his nation for this purpose anywhere? . . . This is the most unmistakable sign of advanced "swissification", when the nerves that react to insult no longer function, because they are already decayed. How could a nation in which this is not the case allow even this, that important leading and legal offices should be occupied by Jews and obvious retainers of Jews, as is the order of the day in Germany?

HANS VON LIEBIG. 1921. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 24.

¹ Hans Baron von Liebig, University Professor of Chemistry.

THE un-Germanness in and about us . . . lies primarily in a lack of racial sense . . . in international, pacifistic and defeatistic thinking and, finally, in the considerable advancement of the Jewish people within our boundaries.

GENERAL ERICH LUDENDORFF. 1922. *Bibl.* VI, 38, pp. 337-8.

WHILE the Semites neither know nor accept the pig, and exclude it by every means in their power from their national community, this pig takes the first place in the cult of the Nordic peoples.

WALTHER DARRÉ. 1933. *Bibl.* V, 25, p. 8.

It is a proven fact that all which we call German was created exclusively by the German man, whom to-day we call the man of Nordic race, and that in any case the Germans were themselves the most fundamental element in Teutonic culture and history. But in addition it appears—and this is a still more important observation—that a basic condition of the entire Indo-Germanic culture and morality, but especially of European culture outside Germany ever since the time of the invasions, has been these same people and this same race, and that all these systems went to pieces when these people broke up.

WALTHER DARRÉ.¹ 1935. *Bibl.* V, 24 (quoted from French ed. entitled 'La Race', p. 239).

IN the world war it was precisely the Great Powers richest in Nordic blood that wasted upon each other the best of their racial forces, leaving, after four years of war, the "fruits" of the peace and the "victory" to certain portions of the people: to a slight extent to those portions of the people whom their hereditary qualities enabled to survive the weeding-out process of war, but chiefly to the thin stratum of "international finance" principally belonging to or obeying the race from Asia Minor.

HANS F. K. GUENTHER.² *Bibl.* VIII, F. 7,
p. 37.

¹ Richard Walther Darré (1895-), b. in Argentina; politician and agriculturist; Reich and Prussian Minister of Food and Agriculture, 1933; a leader of the National-Socialist Party; head of Reich Agricultural Organization; author of the 'Blood and Soil' theory.

² Hans F. K. Guenther (1891-), race investigator; Professor of Social Anthropology at Jena; director of an Institute for Race Study, 'folk biology', etc., in Berlin.

THE Nordic race has the right to rule the world. This right of our race must be for us the star lighting us on the road of foreign policy.

OTTO STRASSER,¹ "Ministerium oder Revolution", 1930. Bibl. I, 10, p. 39.

THE inborn capacity (of the racially pure man.—*Ed.*) to feel, to judge, to know what is right and how one must act in order that peace and order may be preserved in the community, was transmitted to the Nordic man by his ancestors, by the Gods themselves—not as a learned science, not as an externally transmitted wisdom, but through the natural disposition of the blood. Not everyone, therefore, can know the law, but only one whose race is pure, who has been produced in genuine marriage between like beings, and whose family tree is free from alien admixture. Law therefore, can be known, established, proclaimed and announced only by Aryan, Nordic men. Hence, the Nordic man alone is destined to legal creativeness, that is, to the creation of law out of the original spring of wisdom.

HELMUT NICOLAI. 1933. Bibl. V, 127, pp. 13–14.

BECAUSE of this the highest biological unit which man had to serve, whose maintenance was the highest task of his life, was the nation. The law was deduced from this community of blood. In the last resort law served that community. In consequence law has weight only within the community. The same blood gives the same law, because the law was dependent on its origin. *Whoever stood outside the national community, also stood outside peace, outside the juridical system, did not possess equal rights, was not equal by birth* (Italics *Ed.*).

HELMUT NICOLAI. 1933. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 18.

PRESENT and past suddenly appear in a new light and a new mission arises for the future. History and the mission of the future no longer mean the struggle of class against class, the struggle of Church dogma against dogma, but the clash between blood and blood, race and race, people and people.

ALFRED ROSENBERG. 1931. Bibl. V, 170, p. 21.

But the spirit signifies race seen from within. Conversely, race is the exterior of the spirit. To reawaken the spirit of the race is the same

¹ Otto Strasser (1897–), politician; member of the radical socialist wing of National Socialist Party; quarrelled with Hitler, left the Nazi Party and founded the 'Kampfgemeinschaft revolutionärer Nationalsozialisten' (Militant Society of Revolutionary National Socialists), and the 'Schwarze Front' (Black Front).

thing as recognising its superlative value and allocating to the other values their organic positions under its dominion: in the State, Art and Religion. That is the task of our century.

ALFRED ROSENBERG. 1931. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 22.

ROME also was founded by a wave of Nordic peoples who, long before the Teutons and Gauls, burst into the fertile valley south of the Alps . . . breaking the power of the Etruscans. . . .

ALFRED ROSENBERG. 1931. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 73.

AMID the most terrible disintegration the old Nordic racial spirit is none the less awakened to new, higher consciousness. It realises finally that there can be no equality in the neighbourly existence (*gleichberechtigtes Nebeneinander*) of mutually and necessarily exclusive supreme values, to which either neighbour might at some time consent to her own present destruction (*Verderben*). It realises that elements racially and spiritually related may be included, but that foreign elements must undoubtedly be extruded, and, when necessary, overcome. Not because they are 'false' or 'bad' in themselves, but because they are foreign generically (*artfremd*) and destroy the internal structure of our essence.

ALFRED ROSENBERG. 1931. Bibl., *ibid.*, pp. 118-19.

EVERY manifestation of human culture, every product of art, science and technical skill, which we see before our eyes to-day, is almost exclusively the product of the Aryan creative power. This very fact fully justifies the conclusion that it was the Aryan alone who founded a superior type of humanity; therefore he represents the archetype of what we understand by the term: MAN. He is the Prometheus of mankind, from whose shining brow the divine spark of genius has at all times flashed forth, always kindling anew that fire which, in the form of knowledge, illuminated the dark night by drawing aside the veil of mystery and thus showing man how to rise and become master over all the other beings on the earth. Should he be forced to disappear, a profound darkness will descend on the earth; within a few thousand years human culture will vanish and the world will become a desert.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 243.

THE Germans lack the powerful gregarious instinct, effect of the identity of blood, which, especially imperious in the hours of danger,

RACIAL PURITY

averts the ruin of nations, instantaneously effacing among the peoples who are endowed with it all the subsidiary differences and making them oppose to the common enemy the united front of a homogeneous herd.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 332.

UNFORTUNATELY our German people no longer has a homogeneous race as its basis. And the fusion of the original elements has not made such progress that one can speak of a new race born of this fusion.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 394.

THE gap between the lowest, still so-called human being and our highest races is greater than that between the lowest man and the highest ape.

ADOLF HITLER, *Die Reden Hitlers am Reichsparteitag*, 1933 (Munich, 1934), p. 33.

THE fairy tales and sagas of the Nordic people, especially the German people, show the spirit of close contact, which all Aryan people possess, with the animals.

HERMANN GOERING, German broadcast describing the fight against vivisection and measures taken to prohibit it, 28 Aug. 1933.

THE Nordic lives in God. He feels himself to be God. In his feeling and his will he is God himself.

ARNO SCHMIEDER, *Die Deutsche Schule im Deutschen Staat*, Leipzig, 1935. Bibl. I, 5, p. 22.

NATURAL scientific knowledge, in so far as it is proven, is the Germans' very own; for it has been chiefly achieved by Nordics.

PHILIPP LENARD.¹ 1936. Bibl. VIII, F. 27, p. 381.

. . . the tragedy of Aryan law begins with the introduction of Mosaic conceptions into the Germanic penal code. . . . Once again National Socialist law, however, has regained the right path. In the future

¹ Philipp Lenard (1862-), physicist; Lecturer in Physics at Bonn University, 1894; at Aachen 1895, and Heidelberg 1896; Professor at Kiel University, 1898, Heidelberg, 1907-31. Nobel Prize winner, 1905; Pangerman since 1914, and Hitler supporter since 1924.

a homicide shall be treated as murder and punished by the death penalty only when accompanied by particularly reprehensible features. The distinction between premeditated and unpremeditated homicide has been dropped. In its place there has been revived the ancient Germanic racial-biological principle.

Westdeutscher Beobachter,¹ 10 May 1938.

THE false doctrine that Christ was a Jew ought to be opposed by every decent German. We decidedly decline to let our Aryan heroes and idealists, front rank fighters and torch-bearers be jeered at! Galilee was an Aryan province, the mother of Christ was a Greek woman, his father an Aryan!

Der Seher, Review of Intellectual Science, no. 5,
1935.

¹ Founded by Dr. Ley in 1925.

CHAPTER THREE

GERMAN VIEW OF OTHER RACES AND NATIONS

CHAPTER III—CONTENTS

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WILHELM II
(1859-1941)

Section I

GENERAL VIEW. LITERATURE OF HATE TOWARDS OTHER NATIONS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

What feelings other than contempt and hatred can a 'chosen' nation have for other nations? As the 'chosen' nation is entitled to hegemony, the Germans regard all opposition on the part of other nations, all resistance to their advance towards ruling the world, as an unjust injury. Then they feel sorry for themselves and declare that other nations are attempting to encircle Germany and to choke her, just because they are not willing to surrender their forefathers' patrimony and to see an extension of German Lebensraum at their expense.

This chapter on the German opinion of other nations begins with a few highly characteristic quotations in which the guiding thought is that Germany need not trouble to win the sympathy of other nations. Let them hate Germany, so long as they are filled with fear of her. That sounds strange on the lips of people who claim the cultural leadership of Europe, which is so closely associated with the traditional morality of love of one's neighbour.

In this section also are quotations which speak abusively or contemptuously of more than one nation at a time.

GERMANY thinks with repugnance of the future supremacy of North America, she fears that of France and execrates that of Russia.

FRIEDRICH LIST.¹ Bibl. VIII, D. 129, Vol. ii,
p. 441 (ed. 1850).

It is not right that the bread should be taken from the children of Germania and cast before the dogs (Czechs, Magyars, Poles, Jews, etc.), for salvation comes from the Germans and no longer from the Jews!

Heimdall, 1902, p. 142.

... If it is necessary for Germany to become a hammer, it is also necessary that she should strike. If the Germans wish to hold their own against the Slavs, there is only one way, which is to crush the Slavs.

ALBRECHT WIRTH. 1904. Bibl. VIII, B. 108
(I, 2 (c), p. 310).

WHAT does their hate matter to us? ... *Oderint dum metuant!*
Let them hate us, but let them fear us!

PRINCE BERNHARD VON BÜLOW.² Bibl. I, 39 (b),
p. 42.

PORTUGAL, France and Britain are in the way of this first world empire of the German people. Portugal and France will suffer. Britain will not be able to prevent it. We shall not have gone as far as that to-day or to-morrow, but the day of the European settlement will come when the reservists of Nîmes will strike, when the sons of the German heroes of Metz and Sedan will attack in the rain, when the English Channel will be paved with submarines of the successful Pluvius type, when German Dreadnoughts will bombard the French North Sea Ports.

RICHARD OTTO TANNENBERG. 1911. Bibl. IX, 153,
p. 220.

BELGIUM I regard as a miscarriage of politics, and the Belgian 'nationality' has, in my view, a slight flavour of the comic. Serbs and Japanese produce rather a sensation of revulsion and disgust, and I cannot

¹ Friedrich List (1789-1846), economist; Professor of Political Economy and Constitutional Law at Tübingen.

² Bernhard, Prince von Bülow (1849-1929), statesman; Chargé d'affaires at Athens, 1877; Minister in Bucharest and Rome; Foreign Secretary, 1897; Chancellor of the Reich and Prussian Prime Minister, 1900.

get rid of the idea that one soils honest weapons in fighting such nations. . . . The Japanese with whom we have frequently had to deal in our capacity as university teachers, were regarded by me already before the war not as men but as very receptive half-monkeys. It is difficult to have any human feelings towards them and certainly no hatred. You do not hate the mongrel that snaps at your legs in the street, but merely beat him.

WERNER SOMBART; a statement dated 2 Nov.
1914, quoted in *Die Kloake* by Hans
Reimann, Munich, 1920.

THE SONG OF HATE

O MY GERMANY, thou must engrave in thy soul a hatred profound and ineffaceable; thou hast long lacked this note, very long. It cries for vengeance, revenge, fury; stifle in thyself all human sentiment and speed to the battle.

O Germany, hate! Slaughter thy millions of adversaries and build a monument of smoking corpses which rise up to the clouds.

O Germany, hate now! Gird thyself with brass and with thy bayonet pierce the heart of every enemy; take no prisoners! Render them all mute; transform the neighbouring countries into deserts.

O Germany, hate! Health will come from thy anger; Split their skulls with blows of butt-ends or axes; these brigands are wild beasts, they are not men; let thy fist execute God's judgement.

O Germany, the moment has come for hate! And strike and thrust firmly! Battalions, batteries, squadrons, all forward! Afterward thou wilt review them on the ruins of the world, healed for ever of thine ancient folly, of thy love for foreigners.

HEINRICH VIERORDT.¹ 1914. Bibl. I, 39 (a), pp. 83-4.

AGAINST us stands the world's greatest sham of a nation, whom, with German good nature, we have much too long called the "English Cousin", the Carthaginians of the North Sea, in whom we trusted that blood would have proved thicker than water: *The Judas among the nations, who this time, for a change, betrays Germanism for thirty pieces of silver*. Against us stands France, the harlot amongst the peoples (*die Dirne unter den Völkern*), to be bought for any prurient excitement, shameless, unblushing, impudent and cowardly, with her worthless myrmidons. Against us stands Russia, inwardly, indeed,

¹ Heinrich Vierordt (1855-), poet.

GENERAL VIEW

rotten, mouldering, masking its diseases under outbursts of brutality, but capable of employing any means, devoid of all feeling—not dangerous of herself, but becoming a menace when leagued with others, like a beast raging from the fever of wounds, deceitful, never to be trusted.

PASTOR J. RUMP. 1915. Bibl. I, 6, p. 117-18.

Is it not a fraud against the German child mind that they are taught at school about old foreign peoples: "They are men like us"?

Hammer, 1914, Vol. 2, p. 540.

AND, finally, I call upon you once again, you Germans abroad, as well as at home: *Become hard, become hard towards the foreigner.* Be keen and free in exerting your Germanness.

C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT.¹ 1915. Bibl. VIII, B. 57,
p. 42.

WE know that the Serbians are professional regicides, the Russians half animals, the French vengeful, vain coxcombs, the British barbarous highwaymen and world pirates in the hypocritical cloak of Christianity, the Italians assassins, the Japanese apes and hyenas, that is, far from being fully human.

WILHELM SCHWANER, *Volkserzieher*, 1915, no. 17,
Supplement.

WE need not be ashamed of our hate.

We cannot cut the hate out of our soul. We dare not. We do not wish to. Such unnatural conduct is far from us.

PROF. RUDOLF LEONHARD, *Amerika während des Weltkrieges* (1915), p. 23.

WE are the best hated people in the world, and we want to be proud of the fact. . . .

PROFESSOR ROETGER, on the 102nd Anniversary
of the Birth of Bismarck, 1 April 1917.
Vossische Zeitung, 4 April 1917.

I AM glad that the Reich Chancellor has gone into the history of Alsace-Lorraine. It shows that it is wrong to speak of the remedying

¹ C. F. Lehmann-Haupt (1861-), historian; Professor at Berlin University, acted as professor at Liverpool 1911-14, then at Greifswald, Constantinople and Innsbruck.

of an injustice. The question of Alsace-Lorraine is one that we cannot discuss. . . . Against the policy of 5 November 1916, concerning Poland, we have already raised the most serious objections and repudiated all responsibility. . . . The projected solution involves the danger of a Polish irredentist movement. To-day it is already being carried on by German Deputies of Polish origin.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Speech in the Reichstag,
24 Jan. 1918. Bibl. II, 11, p. 43.

. . . there is to-day, rightly, a strong resistance on the part of nationalism against a number of countries and a schematic tendency describes this as the resistance of the Western spirit. Now, this 'Western spirit' is essentially nothing but the mixture of the late French spirit with the Jewish democratic idea, which has found political expression in the present parliamentary system. Thus one should not speak abstractly of the supremacy of a so-called 'West', but, more comprehensibly, of a Jewish-French ideology. . . . It is only recently that, with industrialism and the rule of finance, the French-Jewish disease has increasingly attained power.

ALFRED ROSENBERG. 1931. Bibl. V, 170, p. 629.

Thus we must promote and welcome nationalism as the manifestation of certain inner values only in those nations of whom we believe that the forces of their future destiny will not come into conflict with the radiations of the German people.

ALFRED ROSENBERG. 1931. Bibl. *ibid.*, p. 644.

For example, Italy and Soviet Russia, superficially considered, each seem to constitute a united people. But any scrutinising glance will perceive there tensions which will disintegrate the peoples of these two States immediately the outbreak of war permits them to explode.

GENERAL LUDENDORFF, 1934. Bibl. VI, 39.

Section 2

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

In two or three months Britain will be disposed of. . . . At the end of the war there will be a great understanding with France, then the whole of Europe will under my leadership begin the real war against Britain, the second Punic War.

KAISER WILHELM II (1917), in Erzberger,
Erinnerungen, pp. 52 ff.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE¹

On her road to hegemony Germany always comes up against one great invincible barrier: the British Empire. That same barrier stood in the path of Spain in the sixteenth century, and of France in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Twice already, in 1914 and 1939, the British Empire has set its veto on the expansion of German imperialism. In consequence, the Union Jack has now for a second time become the banner of freedom for all the Continental nations, who have no hope of salvation except through a British victory. It is not surprising that the existence of this mighty bastion of freedom reduced the Germans to frenzy prior to 1914 and right down to the present day. Hence the torrent of slanders and insults hurled at the British nation. It is an amusing detail that this flood of far from fastidious invective clearly reveals a distinct inferiority complex, in Germany's attitude to Great Britain, which Germans hate and admire while they hate.

This section opens with a quotation from the Kaiser, who sums up perfectly Germany's attitude to England. Even during the last war the Germans were determined to start a second and a third war against England if necessary. And they are certainly waging a second!

The man of Locarno, Dr. Gustav Stresemann, is not absent from this anti-British chorus. Hitler and Goering might to-day well repeat his words: 'On thine island, envious England, thou art the fundamental enemy!'

Though to-day Hitler should rather ponder on his own words, which the reader will find here extracted from Mein Kampf, and in which the present Führer of Germany paid due tribute to the British nation.

¹ For the Hate literature against England, not included in our Bibliography, see T. F. A. Smith, *What Germany Thinks*, London, 1915.

WHATEVER one may think of British liberty, England of to-day is no doubt a Power for action in the society of nations, but her power is clearly an anachronism. It was created in olden times when the world's wars were decided by naval battles and by hired mercenaries, and when it was considered good policy to rob well-situated fortresses and naval ports without any regard to their ownership and history. In this century of national states and nations in arms a cosmopolitan trading Power such as England can no longer maintain itself for any length of time. The day will come and must come, when Gibraltar will belong to the Spaniards, Malta to the Italians, Heligoland to the Germans, and the Mediterranean to the nations who live on the Mediterranean.

... England is to-day the shameless representative of barbarism in International Law. Hers is the blame, if naval wars still bear the character of privileged piracy.

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE. *Bibl. V*, 202 (*d*).

THE British navy is strong enough to defy any hostile combination; Germany has, practically speaking, no navy. I am therefore compelled to observe the strictest neutrality. Before everything else I must provide myself with a navy. In twenty years' time, when the navy is ready, I shall speak a very different language.

KAISER WILHELM II (to Count von Bülow,
Minister for Foreign Affairs, 29 Oct. 1899).
Bibl. II, 16, Vol. xv, pp. 407-8.

You British are mad, like bulls seeing a red rag! What has happened to you to overwhelm us with suspicions that are unworthy of a great nation! What else shall I do? I have always described myself as a friend of Britain. . . . Have I ever broken my word? . . . This misunderstanding strikes me as a personal insult. . . .

KAISER WILHELM II, Statement in the *Daily Telegraph*, 27 Oct. 1908.

It must be made clear to him (the German Ambassador in England) that good relations with Britain at the cost of the development of the Fleet are not a desirable thing to me. This is an abysmal impertinence that conceals a grave insult to the German nation and its Kaiser, and ought to be rejected by the Ambassador from the outset. . . . The law will be carried out to the last comma, whether the British

like it or not. If they want war, then let them start it; we are not afraid of it!

KAISER WILHELM II. Bibl. IX, 101B,
pp. 279-80.

THE . . . intrigues which have kept Europe breathless will cease. . . . Edward VII will be mourned most, apart from his own country, by the French and the Jews.

KAISER WILHELM II (May 1910). Marginal note on the Chancellor's message of condolence (upon the death of King Edward VII). Bibl. IX, 101B, p. 405.

. . . France is and remains the hereditary enemy. England is and remains our most tenacious, most shrewd and implacable adversary; every German knows that to-day, and hence he also knows that, in face of such neighbours, our political existence depends exclusively upon our military strength, on our armaments.

HEINRICH CLASS. 1911. Bibl. V, 20A, pp. 37 ff.

. . . Unfortunately, it does not seem possible that peace can be made between the Germans and the English before one has killed the other.

ALBRECHT WIRTH. 1912. Bibl. VIII, B. 112A,
pp. 48-9.

THE British Empire is like a pyramid balanced on its apex. Little England serves as a base for a world empire ninety times as extensive, while the population of the colonies is (roughly) nine times as numerous as that of the British Isles. In the mother country enormous wealth contrasts with terrible poverty. . . . The marrow of the people has long since been sucked away, and it is impossible to draw a serviceable army from the lower classes of society.

For that matter, it is probable that not only will the English army be conquered in a war: the fleet also would suffer an irreparable disaster. It is over a hundred years since the English have engaged in a naval battle, for one cannot call the easy destruction of a few Chinese ships outside Canton a naval battle. For victory, one needs above all good soldiers, even more than good machines; but the English lack good fighters.

ALBRECHT WIRTH. Bibl. I, 2 (c), pp. 47-8.

For some years Germany has been attempting to build a fleet proportionate to its needs. Hardly had the first faint desire to do this been revealed than hostile voices were raised in England, going so far as to produce serious perturbations in Anglo-German relations. The danger passed for the time being, but there will be lasting improvement in Anglo-German relations, that is to say, the danger will disappear, only when England becomes afraid that she will risk too much by struggling against us. This risk will have to be greater than the profit she hopes to get; by a war against Germany England will have to be in danger of seeing her fleet weakened to the point of compromising her supremacy over other naval powers. We shall reach this degree of strength in our armaments when we wish. But it is necessary that all the German friends of peace should desire this; then we shall regard peace between England and ourselves as at a stage where it is possible and lasting.

COUNT ERNST ZU REVENTLOW.¹ 1906. Bibl. V, 139.

... British Liberal-Democratic Imperialism always wants war, in the sense that it never loses sight of war as the ultimate means for the achievement of its desires for economic and political expansion. These expansionist desires, particularly as regards their democratic justification, are of very long standing and were current even with the democratic Puritans of the seventeenth century. The need for British expansion has again and again been justified by reference to freedom and Democracy.

JUSTUS HASHAGEN. 1908. Bibl. VIII, B. 31, p. 21.

THEREFORE the German idea can go on living and growing only if its material basis, in other words the number of Germans, the prosperity of Germany, the number and the scope of world economic relations harnessed to the service of German economic life, extends continually. By so doing it will force the Anglo-Saxons to decide whether they wish to harmonise their interests with ours and to come to an arrangement with us to determine their share and ours, or whether they wish to defend against us by force their plans for universal and exclusive hegemony. If they choose the first alternative it will be because our strength will render the struggle too dangerous. If

¹ Count Ernst zu Reventlow (1869-), politician and journalist; retired naval officer; National Socialist member of Reichstag since 1924; founder and editor of the weekly *Der Reichswart*.

they decide for a conflict with armed fist, it will depend on our strength whether we are able to conquer, whether we succumb, or maintain our position.

The destiny of Germany is England. To anyone who has followed the general historical evolution during this past century and has even the slightest immediate knowledge of the actual aspect of the world, one single question dominates all the other national and political problems of the future: is the Anglo-Saxon type destined to dominate alone in those parts of the world where evolution is still in progress, or will there be enough room left for the German type for it to become one of the constituent factors of the universal culture to come, on the one and the other shore of the Ocean?

PAUL ROHRBACH. 1912. *Bibl.* V, 156, pp. 9-10.

THE German never becomes a Russian or a Turk, but he lowers his tone in the presence of the English and sees his children speak English.

North America furnishes proof of that. In this sense, the English element is a national danger for us, one may say: *the* national danger.

FRIEDRICH NAUMANN. 1913. *Asien*, pp. 142-3.

A HYMN OF HATE AGAINST ENGLAND

FRENCH and Russian they matter not,
A blow for a blow and a shot for a shot;
We love them not, we hate them not,
We hold the Weichsel and Vosges-gate,
We have but one and only hate,
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone.

He is known to you all, he is known to you all,
He crouches behind the dark grey flood,
Full of envy, of rage, of craft, of gall,
Cut off by waves that are thicker than blood.
Come, let us stand at the Judgment place,
An oath to swear to, face to face,
An oath of bronze no wind can shake,
An oath for our sons and their sons to take.
Come, hear the word, repeat the word,
Throughout the Fatherland make it heard.

We will never forgo our hate,
We have all but a single hate,
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe, and one alone—

ENGLAND!

In the Captain's mess, in the banquet-hall,
Sat feasting the officers, one and all,
Like a sabre-blow, like the swing of a sail,
One seized his glass held high to hail;
Sharp-snapped like the stroke of a rudder's play,
Spoke three words only: "To the Day!"
Whose glass this fate?
They had all but a single hate.
Who was thus known?
They had one foe, and one alone—

ENGLAND!

Take you the folk of the Earth in pay,
With bars of gold your ramparts lay,
Bedeck the ocean with bow on bow,
Ye reckon well, but not well enough now.
French and Russian they matter not,
A blow for a blow, a shot for a shot,
We fight the battle with bronze and steel,
And the time that is coming Peace will seal.

You will hate with a lasting hate,
We will never forgo our hate,
Hate by water and hate by land,
Hate of the head and hate of the hand,
Hate of the hammer and hate of the crown,
Hate of seventy millions, choking down.
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe, and one alone—

ENGLAND!

ERNST LISSAUER IN "*Jugend*". 1914. Bibl. 1, 13,
pp. 79-80. (Transl. by Barbara Henderson
in *New York Times*.)

THOSE who had warned us for years past that England is our greatest enemy were right. To-day every German recognises who is our principal opponent in this world war. Against Russia and France we fight, as the poet expresses it, "with steel and bronze, and conclude a peace some time or other". But against England we wage war with the greatest bitterness and such a terrible rage as only an entire and great people in their holy wrath can feel. The words of Lissauer's *Hymn of Hate* were spoken out of the innermost depths of every German soul.

WILHELM KOTZDE. 1914. Bibl. IX, 90, pp. 64 ff.

THE Englishman is a traitor to civilisation.

PROF. ADOLF VON HARNACK, Speech at Berlin,
11 Aug. 1914.

THE sound political instinct of the people has recognised the specific motive force of this war. England has now taken the place of our traditional, age-old enemy. England's commercial enmity has now actually . . . unleashed the greatest war the world has ever seen. As the English could not do anything to equal us in scientific thought, assiduous commerce, in discipline, the source of our organisation, as we have surpassed them in the iron and steel industry, the chemical industry and so many others, they have kindled this war against us. They know no other way. . . .

ALOIS RIEHL. 1914. Bibl. VIII, A, 55, p. 7.

WE wish to conquer England, not to imitate England's example. Too clearly has her example shown us whither it leads when a State pursues commercial and industrial ends exclusively.

ALOIS RIEHL. 1914. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 7.

. . . They need not fear us as a colonising power; we have not the least ambition to conquer half-civilised and barbarian peoples in order to fill them with the German spirit. But the English can colonise and fill such peoples with their spirit—for they have none, or at least only a shopkeeper's. . . .

What single cultural work has emerged from the great shop, England, since Shakespeare—except that political abortion, the English State?

WERNER SOMBART. Bibl. I, 45, p. 316.

ENGLAND's plan for starving us out is . . . frustrated, we can stand it. But no one will maintain that the existing state of affairs, with bread-cards, the queues of women complaining about butter and the shortage of meat, ought to be the ideal. Never again may Germany be exposed to the same danger as at present. *For we are now waging the first Punic war against England.*

KONRAD BORNHAK.¹ 1916. Bibl. VIII, D. 22,
pp. 336-7.

THE day will come when people will bless Germany's decision to enter upon the defensive war against Britain and win the freedom of the seas.

FRIEDRICH MEINECKE. 1915. Bibl. VIII, B. 67, p. 27.

THUS Chamberlain's Conservative Imperialism was replaced by a brutal imperialism of conquest and alliances, with the motto: *Germania esse delenda*. It was Great Britain's policy that inevitably led to the world war of 1914. It was a reversion to the mercantile policy of violence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—not, though, by means of better ships and better goods, but by means of violence and destruction did they attempt to eliminate the undesirable competition.

GUSTAV SCHMOLLER.¹ Bibl. VIII, D. 177,
p. 734.

ENGLAND avers that she makes war against us without hatred, and thinks she is thereby giving proof of high civilisation. This is precisely the proof of her coldhearted baseness. . . . The self-controlled English gentleman, who makes unemotional war out of commercial envy, is more devilish than the Cossack. He stands to the Frenchman in the relation of the sneaking murderer for gain to the murderer from passion. The gentleman-cracksman of Conan Doyle expresses the soul of the nation.

O. A. H. SCHMITZ. 1915. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 15.

¹ Konrad Bornhak (1861-), jurist and historian; Professor at Berlin University, 1896; District Judge at Prenzlau and Berlin, 1893-1900; Lecturer at Berlin Military Academy, 1893, and Polytechnic, 1901. See also on this point Kaiser Wilhelm, p. 160.

¹ Gustav von Schmoller (1838-1917), economist and historian; Professor of Political Science at Halle and Berlin Universities; Member of the Prussian State Council and the Prussian Academy of Sciences; Member of the Prussian House of Lords; co-founder of the *Verein für Sozialpolitik* (Union for Social Politics).

OUR real fight is against England, the master of calculation. The miraculous fights against the commonplace, German spirit against English shrewdness, imperturbable heroism against crafty statesmanship. Even those people who now think that they are fighting in the name of civilisation against us barbarians, will shortly discover their mistake, and recognise the German miracle which has come to save the world from the spirit of calculating rationalism.

O. A. H. SCHMITZ. 1915. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 105.

No people has done so much harm to civilisation as the English.

OSKAR A. H. SCHMITZ. 1915. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 122.

IT is not self-defence that urges Britain to fight, but the desire to retain her domination of the world market without serious competition.

We call this mentality low, base. France's intentions we can understand. . . . In the case of Russia there are also motives that one must recognise. . . . To Britain, however, we must deny the respect that one has for a decent enemy. She acts like the business man who falls upon and kills a competitor who threatens to excel him; or, rather, like one who has him killed by assassins.

JOH. HALLER. 1914. Bibl. VIII, B. 29, pp. 17 ff.

AT all events, the war was not Britain's real aim. Britain wanted, if possible, to attain her goal without waging war, for, after all, war involved a certain risk that was inconvenient to the real wirepullers in Britain. They tried to surround us, encircle us, make us disliked, libel us, by bloodless means.

W. DIBELIUS.¹ 1915. Bibl. VIII, D. 46, pp. 13-14.

LET us grant to Britain, our great enemy, our enemy throughout the world, the credit of *having united the Germans of the whole world*.

Then only will the time come when we shall be able definitely to settle accounts with the cowardly old water-snake not only in Europe, but in the whole world! And if Britain has bragged that, if necessary, she will carry on the present war, the war of arms, for twenty years: let this united German people give itself a *hundred years* for

¹ Wilhelm Dibelius (1876-1931); Expert on English affairs; before 1914 Professor at Posen Academy; later at Hamburg and Bonn.

the struggle of the future—the struggle of intelligence against brutal power, the struggle of truth against hypocrisy, the struggle of idealism against the moneybags; in brief, the struggle of all Germans against everything that is British.

L. NIESSEN-DEITERS, *Krieg, Auslandsdeutschum und Presse*, Berlin, 1915, p. 31.

... This must be the goal of German statecraft and German diplomacy. The dream must be dispelled, and the mask torn from the hypocrite's face. If Germany desires to exist, then the weak, faltering expediency policy of the German Empire must be at an end. Our one and only aim must be: Down with England!

Germany, however, may not strive to enter into England's heritage—that must fall to the Continent. England's heir shall be Europe, which will then be able to progress and develop as history intended.

CAPTAIN H. SCHUBERT. *Bibl.* VI, 46, p. 50.

TRULY it is no longer necessary either in this assembly or in all Germany to create popular opinion for the cry *Nieder mit England!* It re-echoes daily from the lips of every German. But still we must continue to point out its necessity—it is a commandment which must banish every weak inclination to yield, and make us strong to hold out to the bitter end. . . .

... We must wait in patience and with confidence in our leaders for the final settlement which the future will bring. The men in our navy are burning to imitate the deeds of their comrades on land. Whenever an opportunity has arisen, they have shown themselves equal to the enemy. Our navy knows, and that is a consolation for the men during inactivity, that the lofty task of breaking England's power will fall to their share. . . .

... In regard to England's downfall there can, may and must be only one opinion. It is the very highest mission of German Kultur. Our war, too, is a "holy war". For the first time England's despotic power is opposed by an enemy possessing power, intelligence and will.

VICE-ADMIRAL KIRCHHOFF. 1914. *Bibl.* VI, 33, pp. 37 ff.

THE newspapers frequently speak of *militarism*. Our opponents mean by this the organised German defence force that is functioning so wonderfully well, that is, the people in arms and its corps of officers. Our opponents are unable to emulate us in this, even by accepting

universal conscription, and the reason the so-called militarism is to be swept away and destroyed is that it is the strongest pillar of the German Reich and people, which, owing to its creative power and right thinking, is in the way of the British and of some other nations.

MAJOR-GENERAL KLINGENDER. 1915. Bibl. VI, 35,
p. 26.

. . . Think of it as long as you live, and pass it on to your descendants as an inheritance. Give all your strength, your last farthing to increase our fleet and any other necessary means to attain our goal: Down with England!

ADMIRAL VALOIS. 1915. Bibl. VI, 55A, p. 5.
(I, 45, p. 297).

As regards the battlefields which surround us on every side, they must not—now that the sword has been pressed into our hands with so much criminality and arrogance—become quiet until England, the chief originator of all this, has been so humiliated as is only possible for us to achieve. It is part of the art of war to inflict upon the enemy all those evils which he has set out to inflict upon us, including complete destruction.

Down, then, with all consideration for England's so-called culture! The central nest and supreme academy for all hypocrisy in the world, which is on the Thames, must be destroyed if the work is to be done thoroughly. No respect for the tombstones of Shakespeare, Newton and Faraday! The spirit of these great men has long ago passed into the souls of the living—and more so in those countries which England is trying to put down than in England itself. Down with all this! We must realise that there can be no real peace with a highwayman until he has collapsed or has been destroyed.

Only an England thoroughly altered, improved, bettered and then matured and ripened for pacific co-operation in every domain—only such an England, or else one destroyed, will permit the nations of the world to proceed in peace in their advancement. Indeed, the idea of honesty, that supreme principle of men, is running the risk of going down. It is being violated by modern England systematically. The struggle upon which we have entered is therefore something more even than a struggle for the existence and honour of the Fatherland; it is a crusade for the assertion of honesty on earth!

PROF. PHILIPP LENARD. *New York Herald*,
5 Oct. 1914 (quoted from *Hamburger
Fremdenblatt*).

... It is England whose fault has extended the present war into a world war, and has thereby endangered our joint culture. And all this for what reason? Because she was jealous of Germany's greatness, because she wanted to hinder at any price a further growth of this greatness. For there cannot be the least doubt on this point that England was determined in advance to cast as many obstacles as possible in the way of Germany's existence in this struggle of the giants, and to hinder her as much as possible in the full development of her powers. She (England) was watching only for a favourable opportunity when she could break out suddenly against Germany, and she therefore promptly seized on the invasion of Belgium, so necessary to Germany, in order that she might cover with a small cloak of decency her brutal national egoism. Or is there in the whole wide world any one so simple as to believe that England would have declared war on France also if the latter had invaded Belgium? In that event she would have wept hypocritical tears over the unavoidable violation of international law; but as for the rest she would have laughed in her sleeve with great satisfaction. This hypocritical Pharisaism is the most repugnant feature of the whole matter; it deserves nothing but contempt.

The history of the world shows that such sentiments lead the nations not upward but downward. For the present, however, we trust firmly in our just cause, in the superior strength and the unyielding victorious spirit of the German people. Yet we must at the same time lament deeply that that boundless egoism has disturbed for an immeasurable period of time the spiritual co-operation of the two peoples which promised so much good for the development of mankind. But they wished it so there—on England alone falls the monstrous guilt and the historical responsibility.

PROF. RUDOLF EUCKEN.

PROF. ERNST HAECKEL.

JENA, 18 Aug. 1914.

(From a letter published in the U.S.A.
on 10 Oct. 1914.)

THIS people, standing in the field, and inwardly filled with the commandments of duty towards the sacred German Fatherland, this people is firmly determined to get out of this war what our Army and Navy are able to get out of it, and not to rest before Britain's world-power-arrogance is completely bowed. That is what our people wants. And the greater and stronger Germany must come. We reject a policy of weak yielding and false illusions, we reject a

policy of solicitations and friendships. To-day the moment has come when German world policy must be the commandment of the hour.

ERNST BASSELMANN, from a Speech delivered in
May 1915 in Cologne, after a meeting of
the National Liberals. Bibl. I, 26, p. 71.

WE do not wish to anticipate the events of the war. But it remains certain, and every German must desire it to be the guiding thread of his thoughts, that *England is the enemy*. If we had conquered Russia and France, the war would still go on. If we succeeded in overthrowing Great Britain, then *eo ipso* France and Russia would also be out of the reckoning. . . . But then it also follows that unless Great Britain is overthrown a permanent peace, an assured and peaceful existence for the German Reich and people, are impossible.

COUNT ERNST ZU REVENTLOW. 1914. Bibl. V, 144,
p. 34.

THUS by robbery and theft, by violence and cunning, after she had learnt to recognise and exploit the strength of her insular position, England in her 'heroic old days' laid the foundations of her later dominant position.

The English have never been supermen. . . . In the days of discoveries they discovered nothing, in the days of inventions they invented nothing. But they understood how to plough with others' oxen, and what distinguished them to the greatest extent from the other European peoples was their energy of avarice.

COUNT ERNST ZU REVENTLOW. 1915. Bibl. V, 145,
p. 13.

THE German Reich and people can only conquer its freedom and an assured independence for the future from Great Britain, whether in this war or in the next. The stages of the German struggle for freedom are, seen from the world-historical viewpoint, only details and matters of form.

COUNT ERNST ZU REVENTLOW. 1915. Bibl., *ibid.*,
p. 185.

ENGLAND's withdrawal from the policy which sought to establish a mutual plan of procedure in world politics between Germany and Britain dates from the time when Britain recognised that Germany would not allow herself to be employed against Russia. In Germany to-day, voices may be heard proclaiming that von Bülow chose

wrongly in refusing England's offer, especially as Russia has repaid our loyalty and friendship with iniquitous ingratitude. The latter represents the truth.

But in judging the policy of that period two factors must be borne in mind. The acceptance of Great Britain's offer would have placed a tie upon the German Empire which would have been unendurable. Germany would have become the strong but stupid Power, whose duty would have been to fight British battles on the Continent. Besides which the choice concerned Germany's world future, above all the development of the German war fleet.

COUNT ERNST ZU REVENTLOW. 1915. Bibl., *ibid.*
(I, 45, p. 261).

BRITISH lust for power and commercial jealousy have been the motives which have organised the world and set it in motion to wage a war of extermination against a peace-loving people.

COUNT ERNST ZU REVENTLOW. 1916.
Bibl. V, 143, p. 477.

FROM the German point of view, an anarchic India would serve German interests far better than a British-ruled India. . . . The liberation of India from the British yoke would almost at once put the Indian peoples into far closer and livelier contact with Germany than ever before.

COUNT ERNST ZU REVENTLOW. 1917. Bibl. V, 145A,
pp. 75 ff.

GOLD is something different for England than for Germany. For England power and gold are inseparable conceptions. The British world empire is largely built up on the British money power and will hold together with it.

KARL HELFFERICH.¹ Speech in the Reichstag,
14 December 1914. Bibl. V, 83, p. 45.

TO-DAY there is nothing more urgent than that the will to conquer the world should take possession of the entire German people. Then only shall we raise ourselves from half-conscious world power to clearly realised, and therefore imperialistic power. Then only can we resist England also. . . .

DR. ADOLF GRABOWSKY. 1914. Bibl. IX, 50.

¹ Karl Helfferich (1872-1924), statesman and economist; leader of the German National Party; State Secretary of the Reich Treasury in 1915; Member of the directorate of the *Deutsche Bank*; introduced the Rentenmark in 1923.

... and it is certain: England is our true Mortal enemy.

... From the moment that England finally sought war with us England became our one world enemy.

PROF. ERICH MARCKS. 1914. Bibl. VIII, B. 61, pp. 14, 28.

IF our wishes and hopes now hasten in advance of the events of the war, we have no wish more fervent and no hope more ardent than this: to set our feet in England! None of our opponents has made our blood boil so much as England. Of course we abhor the Russians as the symbol of barbarism, and a deep gulf separates us from French national sentiment now as always, but we feel hatred neither against the Eastern nor against the Western enemy,—only one has taught us to hate: ENGLAND.

A. O. MEYER.¹ 1917. Bibl. VIII, B. 64, p. 5.

FUNDAMENTALLY, Britain is responsible for the war. She was jealous. British business men wanted this war. It is a British business war. . . . We have no dislike for France, nor Russia. We think highly of the French. But Britain! We hate Britain!

HINDENBURG, Interview with the U.S.A. Senator
Beveridge, March 1915. Bibl. VIII, D.
44, p. 43.

THE great war essentially connotes the freeing of the various European States from England's and Russia's land-lust, but, it is to be hoped, through Germany's 'finest leadership' in Europe. . . . Not all peoples and States are of equal worth and equal right; not all are fitted for the rôle of leader. In Europe strictly speaking only Germany or England can be regarded as such, since in every respect France is retrogressing, and Russia is an Asiatic State.

PROF. BARON VON DER PFORDTEN. 1917. Bibl. VIII, D. 147,
pp. 56, 73.

THE world is listening with bated breath to the struggle which to-day is rending the peoples of Europe to pieces. The knowledge that England is our chief enemy in this struggle is altogether good. 'On thine island, envious England, thou art the fundamental enemy. . . .'

The present world war may, in future, be described as the most

¹ Arnold Oskar Meyer; Professor of History at Rostock University.

gigantic economic struggle of all time. Economic in its origin, through British jealousy of the amazing development of German national and world economy, it has essentially also become a struggle waged with economic weapons and will be continued in the economic field even when the military weapons are silenced.

GUSTAV STRESEMAN. 1915. Bibl. V, 196, p. 3.

DESPITE all the obscurity of history and all the incomplete diplomatic documents . . . and despite all the recent systematic endeavours to represent Russia as the incendiary of the world war, those who have carefully followed the economic struggle between Britain and Germany for a long time will not in the least depart from the view that this war is in the first place an economic war between Germany and Britain and that—even though the *external* cause of the outbreak of war may have lain in St. Petersburg—the *inward* cause was Britain's jealousy of Germany's world economy.

GUSTAV STRESEMAN. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 40.

WE seek for ourselves no world hegemony, not the oppression of other peoples, but a free road over the seas, German support bases for the German fleet exactly as the English maintain for the British fleet, the further expansion of colonial possessions, etc., etc. . . .

GUSTAV STRESEMAN. 1915. Bibl. V, 196A.

. . . Napoleon once compared England with Carthage. Carthage sank down from her height. England also can sink and will sink. For on our side is the true right and on our side the might to strike the blow at her heart, if we understand how to exploit the hour.

GUSTAV STRESEMAN. 1917. Bibl. V, 197,
p. 202.

WE look forward to the great decisions with absolute calm and assurance. Britain's entire merchant fleet is at stake in the U-boat war. The attacks on Hamburg and Kiel have remained a British dream. Instead, our forces stand at the British coast and our airships are floating over Britain. We do not want war with America, but neither are we afraid of it. Those who ally themselves with Britain die of it.

. . . If for 2½ years the neutral lands have borne all this without anywhere defending themselves against England's sea tyranny, then they

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

dare not, they cannot now claim for themselves that we for our part should hold back from using a weapon, even if it creates a difficult situation for them. According to Clausewitz, the mistakes that arise out of benevolence are the worst of all. . . .

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Reichstag Speech,
27-28 March 1917. Bibl. V, 199,
p. 40, and II, 11, p. 520.

ENGLAND, in these paths, has lowered herself to become a nation of hucksters who have long abandoned the service of God for that of Mammon. Let England's doings be a warning to us Christians!

PASTOR J. RUMP. Bibl. I, 6, pp. 130-1.

ENGLAND is a Moloch that will devour everything, a vampire that will suck tribute from all the veins of the earth, a monster snake, encircling the whole Equator. . . .

To tear the cruel world sceptre out of England's hands is the great task for the people of the earth. It is the world judgment which must be fulfilled by world history.

PASTOR W. TOLZIEN. 1915. Bibl., VII, 22, p. 140.

Is there anyone who does not know why England declared war? Why? . . . From jealousy. From shopkeeper-spite. Because she wanted to earn the thirty pieces of silver.

PASTOR W. TOLZIEN. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 143.

THE soldier who spat in the face of the thorn-crowned Saviour did not act more shamelessly than does England now.

PASTOR W. TOLZIEN. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 146.

COVETOUSNESS, a huckstering spirit, a thirst for gain, calculating envy, hypocrisy—what despicable vices have they not become to us! We spit at them, we hate them, just because they are British, allied to British falsehood and craft. We certainly must confess to our shame that *we* also had our share of them; but now we have thrust them all from us, now we walk in gentle innocence through homely pastures, free from greed of money, stripped of all cunning because—just because it is all British.

PASTOR DIETRICH VORWERK. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 39.

AND how badly commercial and political England is now abusing the truth! The lie, impudent, shameless and cynical, more so than ever, has become a recognised weapon of attack, handled with virtuosity.

W. FRANZ. 1915. Bibl. VIII, D. 57, pp. 28-9.

THE present war has proved that German culture is far superior to present-day British culture.

W. FRANZ. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 42.

ALTHOUGH the British sailor has retained the cunning and unscrupulousness of the pirate, lying in wait for neutral cargo vessels, laying mines in the waters of neighbour countries not participating in the war, and committing acts of violence of the most diverse kinds, he lacks the pirate's determination and daring in attack.

... The British aristocrat of an older generation knew the value of gold, but he also knew the dirt attaching to it. *Non olet* is the slogan of modern mercenary Britain.

Gallic life values which, simultaneously with the political alliance and French literature, find increasing acceptance in Britain, and American business principles and outlook, have lent gold a higher value.

W. FRANZ. 1915. Bibl., *ibid.*, pp. 45-6.

BRITAIN has made herself guilty of this deplorably hateful act against Germany. It aggravates her betrayal of the white race. The waters of the Ocean will not suffice to clean this dark stain from Britain. No other country has misused its wealth to the extent Britain has done. The British chauvinist, with the virtuous mien of the hypocrite, has been working for years to undermine the German name, and few will have guessed with what means he set about his task.

W. FRANZ. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 48.

THE decisions of this nation were not determined by any moral ideal, but only by petty, base selfishness devoid of all moral responsibility. Treason, hypocrisy, lying, envy, cowardice and vileness are the titles of honour of this British nation that imagines it has a monopoly of humanity.

... its morality turns into hypocrisy, and never before has an event revealed this more strikingly than the "German war" so long feared by Britain, for the thing that loosed the fetters of pious reserve,

causing Britain to forget not to unveil its entire moral depravity, was nothing but fear.

Fritz Brüggemann. 1915. *Die Einheit Europas*, p. 37.

CHAUVINISM, that ancient British quality, is in Germany confined to small, obscure circles.

Karl Kumpmann. 1916. *Bibl. VIII, D. 115*, p. 46.

HERE we see . . . the ultimate origin of the tragic conflict frankly and honestly described in this way, that Britain possesses and wants to possess more than others and that she has selfishly placed herself in the path of the Germans, who do not want to steal the land, but to make it productive and are in need of space . . .

Rudolf Imelmann. *Der deutsche Krieg und die englische Literatur*, Bonn, 1915.

THANKS to Bismarck, Britain's political and military bluff has ceased to frighten us. . . . Actually, Germany to-day is very different from what it was in 1870-71; its economic power is far more firmly founded in the homeland alone, quite apart from Austria-Hungary, than our crafty enemy assumes.

Hermann Losch,¹ 1914. *Bibl. V, 106*, p. 18.

THERE is no room in this war for a policy of understanding. Britain is the enemy who now binds together the world of enemies. . . . For the sake of an understanding with Britain we would not give up any war aims.

Count von Westarp,² Speech in the Reichstag, 6 June 1916.

BRITAIN we must force to her knees, for she is the heart and brains of the coalition of our enemies. . . .

We must achieve the positive result that Belgium should remain in our hands for good.

Count von Westarp. 1916. *Bibl. II, 11*, p. 733.

¹ Hermann Julius Losch (1863-), economist, and Professor at Tübingen University.

² Count Kuno von Westarp (1864-), politician; Police president of Schöneberg-Wilmersdorf; Prussian Counsel to Chief Court of Administration; Conservative Deputy in Reichstag; during the 1914 war was advocate of annexations. After 1918 a Reichstag deputy for the German National Party.

THE German General Staff, always scrupulous in its workings, had recognised that the war through Belgium was necessary to the preservation of Germany. No right is so inviolable that it must not succumb to necessity, and in this business necessity involved not a single infringement of rights, for every right is relative only. . . . Truly Belgium and her royal house have richly earned their misfortune. Anyone who stoops to the position of England's trainbearer in order to fight Germany deserves no better fate. Anyone who fights against Germany fights against culture; and anyone who joins forces with people of the Grey type deserves to go under.

JOSEPH KOHLER.¹ *Der Tag*, 30 March 1915.

ENGLAND most of all will—since this also must and will succeed—lose her vile and grossly abused mastery of the seas and must learn that only through assiduous labour, not through treacherous robber politics, can she be allowed to maintain an economic predominance.

OTTO VON GIERKE. 1914. *Bibl. VIII, D. 76*, p. 18.

THE English will never willingly admit to fear, for reasons of political prudence. Nevertheless it did, and does, exist. But why do they regard us as conquest-seeking robbers? Because that is what they are themselves, and so they take for granted a similar disposition on the part of their cousins.

RUDOLF LEONHARD. 1915. *Bibl. VIII, D. 127*, p. 25.

THERE are things about which a German in these days must not even think, let alone talk, and one of these is reconciliation with Britain. The demands of our national honour forbid all discussion of this subject. A country which for more than a decade has been the originator and leader of this policy of encirclement, or rather strangulation, which in this war has been inciting against us all the yellow, brown and black ruffians it was able to rope in . . . has been continuously spreading the basest libels about us throughout the wide world—we will not hear of an understanding and reconciliation with such an enemy; we have nothing for him but a burning desire for vengeance and cold hatred and the will for a life-and-death struggle. The object of this struggle is the defeat of Britain, the destruction of

¹ Josef Kohler (1849–1919), jurist; Professor of Criminal Law at Berlin University; was a pioneer in the field of patent and copyright law.

her world sea power, the freedom of the high seas. It is impossible for us to attain this goal in the present war, no matter how favourable its course to us.

GERHARD ANSCHÜTZ.¹ 1917. Bibl. VIII, D. 3,
pp. 20 ff.

... The result of the struggle between ourselves and Britain will, among other things, also decide whether we have any future as a colonial power and what sort of a future it will be. ...

... One of our greatest worries for the future relates to the coalition—England, Russia and France, not to speak of Japan and the minor accomplices—that has been formed against us, not, as we know, recently, and not only for the present war.

We may go on hoping that, after the war, we shall succeed in attaching one or other of the members of the hostile Triple Alliance or, alternatively, in reaching a tolerable understanding with it, sufficient to ensure at least its neutrality in case of a future attack upon us. The realisation of this hope is one of the highest tasks of German statecraft.

But which of the three Powers ought to be the object of such a policy of assuagement and rapprochement?

Certainly not England.

GERHARD ANSCHÜTZ. 1917. Bibl., *ibid.*

IN opposition to this there is only one solution in every German heart: Down with England's arrogance and world tyranny! Therefore every German welcomes with joyful heart the application of that last method which will, as we all hope, overthrow the tyrant and will lead to reason,—unrestricted submarine warfare.

ERNST BAUER. 1918. Bibl. IX, 3, p. 45.

BELGIUM, the bulk of whose population is of Germanic descent, will, after the disgraceful deeds of the population, probably remain permanently a part of Germany. If we succeeded in seizing, in addition to the Belgian coast, part of the Atlantic coast of France, then we should obtain the possibility of breaking England's supremacy in European waters. If we can enforce peace with France and Russia, victory over England will surely follow. ... Possibly we may succeed also

¹ Gerhard Anschütz (1867–), Professor at Tübingen University (1898), Heidelberg (1900), Berlin (1908), and again at Heidelberg (1914).

in throwing England out of the Mediterranean, where it has no business to be. . . .

MAX SCHUBERT. *Deutschland am Schicksalswege*. Bibl. I, 7.

THE theft of all the German colonies after the great war would be understandable if her enemies needed them in order to live. But Britain and France own more land than they are able to cope with by peaceful labour and their capital. It was blind hatred, lust for pillage and fear that have destroyed a great civilising work in Africa.

SARTORIUS VON WALTERSHAUSEN. 1920. Bibl. VIII, D. 158, p. 351.

IT was wrong to yield to British objection. Not by voluntary weakness, but only through strength that commands respect was it possible to make British policy pause before violence.

DIETRICH SCHÄFER.¹ 1920. Bibl. VIII, B. 86, p. 12.

THUS the 'parliamentary form of government' is a specifically British growth . . . Parliamentaryism in Germany is nonsense and treason. Britain has rendered impotent all the countries to whom she has administered the poison of her own form as medicine.

OSWALD SPENGLER. 1919. Bibl. VIII, A. 65, p. 5.

THE pirate instinct of the island people interprets economic life very differently. It is a matter of struggle and booty, notably the individual's share of the booty.

OSWALD SPENGLER, *ibid.*, p. 49.

IT emerges from this that British economic life is in fact identical with trade—trade, insofar as it represents the civilised form of robbery. To this instinct everything becomes booty, merchandise to enrich oneself.

OSWALD SPENGLER, *ibid.*, p. 50.

EVERYTHING that Marx, with enraged admiration, says about 'capitalist society', applies to the English and not to a universal human economic instinct.

OSWALD SPENGLER, *ibid.*, pp. 50–1.

¹ Dietrich Schäfer (1845–1929), historical writer; Professor of History at Jena, Tübingen, and Berlin. A disciple of Treitschke.

THE British were the first to put under the title, political economy, the theory of *their* plundering world economy. As traders they have been clever enough to know the power of the pen over the people of the most bookish of all civilisations. They persuaded them that the interests of their pirate nation were those of humanity.

OSWALD SPENGLER. 1919. *ibid.*, p. 54.

... For it is of the essence of this policy that it is a purely business policy in the piratical sense, whether it is the Tories or the Whigs who happen to be in power.

OSWALD SPENGLER, *ibid.*, p. 58.

... Despite all that, the two great world concepts continue to be opposed: dictatorship of money or organisation, the world as booty or as State, riches or authority, success or vocation. Both Socialist Parties of Germany must get together against the enemy of the common idea, against the essential England, the capitalistic-parliamentarian Liberalism. A Socialistic Monarchy... that is an idea that has slowly matured in the Faustian human world and has long bred its human type for itself.

OSWALD SPENGLER, *ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

BUT neither is the English nation strong, young, or healthy enough, spiritually and racially, to combat this terrible crisis with confidence.

OSWALD SPENGLER. 1933. Bibl. VIII, A. 68, p. 73 (Engl.).

BUT in Germany, through the medium of the schools, the press and the comic papers, an idea of the Englishman was gradually formed which was bound eventually to lead to the worst kind of self-deception. This absurdity slowly but persistently spread into every quarter of German life. The result was an undervaluation for which we have had to pay a heavy penalty. The delusion was so profound that the Englishman was looked upon as a shrewd business man, but personally a coward even to an incredible degree. Unfortunately our lofty teachers of professorial history did not bring home to the minds of their pupils the truth that it is not possible to build up such a mighty organisation as the British Empire by mere swindle and fraud. The few who called attention to that truth were either ignored or silenced. I can vividly recall to mind the astonished looks of my comrades when

they found themselves personally face to face for the first time with the Tommies in Flanders. After a few days of fighting the consciousness slowly dawned on our soldiers that those Scotsmen were not like those we had seen described and caricatured in the comic papers and mentioned in the *communiqués*.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 132.

THE British nation will therefore be considered as the most valuable ally in the world as long as it can be counted upon to show that brutality and tenacity in its government, as well as in the spirit of the masses, which enables it to carry through to victory any struggle that it once enters upon, no matter how long such a struggle may last or however great the sacrifice that may be necessary or whatever the means that have to be employed; and all this even though the actual military equipment at hand may be utterly inadequate when compared with that of other nations.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 279.

THE German Empire was the incarnation of the organic, the conservative principle; England and France were the champions of the inorganic, of progress at any price—France as the mother of the Enlightenment and the Revolution, England as the sounding-board of the tinkling cymbal of industrialism.

EWALD BANSE. 1934. Bibl. VIII, E. 3, p. 98.

WE confess that it gives us pleasure to meditate on the destruction that must sooner or later overtake this proud and seemingly invincible nation, and to think that this country, which was last conquered in 1066, will once more obey a foreign master or at any rate have to resign its rich colonial empire.

EWALD BANSE. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 254.

OUR chief military mistakes were our failure to occupy Holland and invade the south-east coast of England. . . .¹ To get an army across the Channel to the Kent coast should prove a relatively simple business, particularly if the attacker is in possession of the French Channel ports of Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, from which he can clear the Channel of English ships with artillery.

EWALD BANSE. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 270.

¹ During the 1914 War.

ON the one hand stands the world power, England; on the other, the great continental power, Germany, with perfectly definite conditions of life, necessities and aims. On the one hand, the "having and possessing", on the other, the "not having enough and demanding". On the one hand the "being", on the other the "becoming".

BARON VON RHEINBACH. Bibl. I, 25, p. 394.

BRITAIN after November 1918 thought she had completely achieved her war aims . . . and yet it already appears to-day that not only did Great Britain not win this war completely, but is heading for the most severe shocks of her entire world State.

ALFRED ROSENBERG. 1931. Bibl. V, 170, p. 633.

If the French Canadians hold fast to the right of bi-lingualism, which for them really signifies unilingualism and the ever wider extension of their mother tongue, then, as a consequence, the German Canadians must possess the same right. . . . If indeed each racial group has the same natural right for its language, then the German Canadians have it just as much as the French Canadians. German is at least as much a cultural language as French, and is steadily taking its place as a world language.

Deutsche Zeitung für Kanada, 25 May 1938.

. . . We supply the proof that the English democracy is to a large extent corrupt and in consequence cannot be held up to other peoples as an example well worthy of imitation.

England was the country which in the capitalistic economic organisation originally went ahead as a guide. In such circumstances that economic spirit was able to emerge which saw the purpose of life in service to gold, since everything can be obtained by gold. Everything—and consequently political convictions! On this basis the corruption in English political life is no fortuitous phenomenon. Because we know the English democracy, we reject it as a model.

SVEN HÉLANDER, *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, 1939.

It is only thanks to the Germanic strain in the race that the English have been able to withstand this fearful reality.

Börsen Zeitung, 1940. Quoted from *Daily Mail*, 12 Nov. 1940.

At the beginning of the present war, England appeared to be the most powerful country in the world. Her mighty Empire, her enormous resources, her immense trade, her wealth, appeared to render her invincible. We are now witnessing the downfall of that Empire; the war has shown that the British Empire was hollow, and had feet of clay. John Bull had entered upon his dotage.

Since 1918 English youth has not heeded the appeal of the Colonies and Dominions.

In 1938 the number of persons who returned from the Colonies was greater than the number of emigrants. A pathetic date for the Empire! From the moment that England was unable to maintain a flow of white settlers, the British Empire began to decline. Look at New Zealand; she has only 15 inhabitants to the square kilometre. Australia is completely empty; in its most thickly populated parts it has only 28 persons to the square kilometre. But the Japanese are not allowed to populate the country, although where they have penetrated their density of population is 180 to the square kilometre. England's policy, in her inability to populate her colonies herself, was always to keep others out.

In other directions the English race is on the retreat from the indignation which has been roused against it. Persecuted nations are gradually freeing themselves from her bloodstained domination. In the Union of South Africa the small number of white inhabitants are for the most part Boers who seek only their liberation from England. Egypt and Ireland have already freed themselves.

Another thing; in 1940 the number of deaths in England is, for the first time, higher than the number of births. But there are in Europe young, strong powers, who are ready, and waiting, to take England's place.

*A Talk in French for Canada, from Zeesen,
2 Dec. 1940.*

... The law of inertia recognises "living corpses" in the sphere of ideas. The British Empire is being affected by this law of inertia. And that is why Treitschke will prove right—the last reckoning with England will be the longest and most complicated. . . .

Deutschlandsender, Political Review,
4 Dec. 1940.

... In the event of surrender Britain must be held responsible for the war and pay indemnity to the Axis Powers. So the British people

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

can realise that the possibility of a compromise has disappeared for ever. . . .

German broadcast, 7 Dec. 1940.

"If you tell [show] everything you have, nothing to be afraid of! If you lie you will be shot!"

LT.-COL. F. SULZBERG, In: "German-English Language Guides for German Soldiers", p. 10. Publishers, Hachmeister and Thal, Leipzig.

THE Reich now intends to form its own living space anew. The idea of the Hansa again becomes the driving principle. All have to realise that Germany's living space is nothing but the question whether Europe is to live under the symbol of the Hansa or the symbol of Downing Street, under the symbol of the community or that of lawlessness. European economic policy, in the spirit of the Hansa, does not mean Germany's political supremacy, but the assured economic co-operation of free nations and thus the improvement of the life of all.

HEINRICH RUNKE (in collaboration with H. G. Winter and Erich Willner), *Die Hansa Downing Street und Deutschlands Lebensraum*, Verlag für Wirtschaftswissenschaft, Berlin, 1940.

THE final reckoning will be terrible, just as England deserves. . . . England, who declared war against us because she overrated her power, who continued the war because she rejected the chances frequently offered to her, and who introduced into this war the methods of the fight against women and children.

Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung,¹ 20 Sept. 1940.

BOMBS ON ENGLAND

WE challenge the lion of Britain
For the last and decisive cup.
We judge and we say
An Empire breaks up. This sure is our proudest day,
Comrade, Comrade,
The orders are here, we start right away.

¹ *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, founded in 1861, at present *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (DAZ), Berlin.

Go, get on, get on,
The motto is known;
Get on to the foe, get on to the foe.
BOMBS ON ENGLAND!

Listen to the engine singing—get on to the foe!
Listen, in your ears it's ringing—get on to the foe,
BOMBS, OH BOMBS, OH BOMBS ON ENGLAND!

Patriotic German Song, 1940, by H. Niels.

GERMANY is now prepared to cause the final defeat of England, and is determined to have a formidable Day of Judgment not only on Churchill and his followers, but on the British nation. We will bring to England a revolution of blood and tears which as a punishment will reduce the British population to degradation and poverty.

Völkischer Beobachter, March 1941.

Cf. *Sunday Times*, March 1941.

Section 3

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Germany's attitude to the United States of America is less marked by hatred than in the case of Great Britain, but it is none the less contemptuous and unfriendly. In German eyes the only valuable elements of the American people are those who are of German origin. In the following section the reader will find material concerning the rôle which the European Germans have always assigned to their brothers across the ocean. Present-day language calls that rôle 'Fifth Column activity'.

... In North America, where the collective spirit of the Low German is expressed with the greatest force, it is the 'dark horse', that is to say, a man quite unknown, a simple unit drawn from the crowd, who, in the presidential elections, generally carries off the victory.

In the Scandinavian North, on the contrary, where the aristocratic spirits of the Germanic race, where Hamlet and Swedenborg are at home, the 'white horse' of Ibsen's writings—*hvide hesten*—that solitary apparition, decisive, often even fatal for the country's internal life, plays a considerable rôle in popular story.

The democratic movement of the contemporary school began in the last century with the American War of Independence, and later it cast its shadow over Germany. Who knows whether the converse may not result and whether a little of the aristocratic whiteness will not fall over America?

... Thus the German, as aristocrat, already governs Europe; as democrat, he already governs America. And perhaps before much more time has passed he will, by virtue of his superiority as a man, govern the world.

JULIUS LANGBEHN. 1890. Bibl. IX, 92, pp. 230, 280.

NORTH AMERICA is an emigration of Low Germany towards the west; Prussia is the same towards the east. The first took place peaceably; the second was made by war.

... The hyperculture of this side of the ocean and the lack of culture of the other side use the same means and unfortunately achieve the same result.

JULIUS LANGBEHN. 1890. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 112.

PART of our public opinion is far too fainthearted in regard to America also. Because the United States has set up the Monroe Doctrine and almost turns us Europeans out of America, that does not mean that we have got to accept that doctrine. . . .

For us there can be no question . . . of State conquests, but certainly of economic and cultural activity.

ALFRED HETTNER. 1900. Bibl. VIII, E. 7, p. 25.

THE fear which Benjamin Franklin felt, that America would be Germanised, was not without foundation; and if American life to-day has a different physiognomy from that of his time, it must be attributed primarily to the influence of the Germans. It is now twenty years since, in a fine speech, the scientist and outstanding diplomat, Andrew Winte, boasted of 'the influence of the German spirit on the United

States'. The German culture and the German spirit are the shield of liberty,—such are the accents which clearly sound from his historical *exposé*. And since then, the influence of the German spirit has increased still more with the development of the American universities. To-day, there is no sphere of the higher intellectual life of America which is not permeated and determined by German influence. In face of this fact, what is the point of the howls of the anti-German press and the sentimental dreams of the Anglo-maniacs? What is signified by the convulsive attempts of English peripatetic lecturers to attract American youth into the intellectual void of Oxford and Cambridge, through the siren's song of the Rhodes scholarships? The American thinker familiar with the history of the higher intellectual life of his nation has to-day made his choice between the English and the German universities. It is not to England that the progress of human civilisation in the future is entrusted, it is to the two German and American nations, closely united by bonds of blood as well as by the common efforts of the most exalted spirit. And the guardians of these sacred bonds of friendship are the Germans in America. Woe to the politicians who would wish to break those bonds with a frivolous hand and to sow hostility or even war!

JULIUS GÖBEL. 1904. Bibl. III, 21, p. 77.

THE number of Germans in the United States amounts to nearly twenty millions, but many of them have lost their native language or their German names. Nevertheless, German blood flows in their veins, and it is only necessary to gather them together under their former nationality in order to bring them back into the lap of their mother Germania. The German volunteers will, of course, have to pay the heaviest blood tax in the war, as they alone form the warlike element of the army. The promiscuous mob of Englishmen, half-breeds, Irish and negroes, is too incoherent and too unmilitary to show any soldierly qualities. Nevertheless, Germanism has to take a back seat in the army, and generalships are almost exclusively in the hands of Englishmen.

We have to consider that more than three million Germans live as foreigners in the United States, who are not personally interested in that country. A skilful German national policy should be able to manipulate that German multitude against the shameless war-speculators.

Grenzbote,¹ 5 May 1898.

¹ Nationalistic newspaper; founded in 1871.

THE German position in Central America was particularly menaced by the great war of competition going on with the United States, which country is also making great efforts to increase its navy.

... If the German population is to remain in those countries, the German fleet must be strong enough to be able to say to the Americans: 'Hands off!'

CAPT. VON VELTHEIM: from a Speech at the
Annual General Meeting of the 'Flotten-
verein' (German Navy League) in 1901.

THE Yankees are especially invading the German regions of Brazil, where they are presenting themselves as philanthropists and founders of churches and schools, in order ultimately to absorb the Germanism of these territories. . . .

... Therefore the United States appears everywhere as the most aggressive, the youngest, probably in future the richest of all the three Germanic world States. Must that discourage us and must we, Germans, come to the melancholy renunciation which so many English have achieved?

No, that hour has not yet come. If we are not in every respect equal to England, if the idea of an alliance with the United States, which haunts certain minds, is a pure chimera, since the United States never concludes alliances, so to speak, we are strong enough, we have sufficient advantages of our own for us to rely on ourselves.

... But whatever the future may bring, the German of to-day can say to himself one thing: it is that the glory of his past will pale, his historic rôle will be in peril from the day that he gives up setting himself, in agreement with all his people, the highest ends that be, from the day when he refuses to brave adverse circumstances with an iron energy, under sure direction, exempt from gross errors.

KARL LAMPRECHT. *Bibl.* VIII, B. 52.

... Without doubt, it is urgent to decide what relationship exists between these three cousins: the German, the Anglo-Saxon, and the American Anglo-Teuton. The German is faced with the anxious problem: Is he destined to be some day more or less engulfed politically, as a sort of inferior and feminine principle, in the universal Anglo-Saxondom, just as in the elaboration of the new Germano-American race the German-Americans are threatened with being engulfed, as a secondary principle, in a modified Anglo-Saxondom?

Or will it be granted to him to take part, as a representative of a powerful and autonomous race, in the domination of the Universe?

KARL LAMPRECHT. 1912. Bibl. VIII, B. 52, Vol. 2,
p. 517.

IN cynicism and cant America does not lag behind Britain.

W. FRANZ. 1915. Bibl. VIII, D. 57, p. 35.

THE repeatedly expressed idea that Wilson appears to be a born peace mediator is intolerable to us. The German people has no confidence that he will have the necessary understanding for our right to exist.

COUNT VON WESTARP, Speech in Reichstag,
6 June 1916. Bibl. II, 11, Vol. 32 (1916),
p. 1177.

If you were to ask the German people, by plebiscite, whether they would like to have Mr. Wilson as a peace intermediary, you would receive a decidedly negative answer.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Speech in Reichstag,
20 May 1916. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 965.

WE must give up all attempts to win over the Anglo-Americans. There must be an end, now and for ever, to that wooing in which we have ceaselessly indulged so long. . . . There are, however, two sections of the population which do matter to us very much indeed, from whom we may even expect a decisive influence upon the policy of the Union, the German-Americans and the Irish. . . . There you have that effeminate soft sentiment in the Americans . . . that frantic delight in fraternising among the nations and eternal peace, in the Hague Peace Conference and such-like Punch and Judy shows. . . . Nor must it be forgotten that as a result of the wild bustle of business life and the immoderate striving after success, the Americans have had their nerves overstrained, and have become an unhealthy nation, both physically and mentally.

PROF. EDUARD MAYER, *Nordamerika und Deutschland*, Berlin, 1915, pp. 116, 20-1, 17, 37.

WE have received America's declaration of war with equanimity. We must regret the consequent prospect of a prolongation of the war, but we are convinced that in reality it can have little effect upon the final decision whether America supplies our present enemies with

munitions and with millions, or whether she prepares to take direct action against us.

OTTO VON GIERKE. 1917. Bibl. VIII, D. 78, p. 8.

THE great question of the future is whether it will be the money-makers or the decent people looking to the future who will gain the upper hand. . . .

. . . It will depend on that whether the policy of conquest and imperialism will lead to a corrupt oligarchy of the financial magnates or even to a despotism, whether a continued precipitate policy of conquest will lead to great wars and the . . . disruption of the Union. The idea of a world trade supremacy . . . is the new *fata morgana* that is to-day dazzling, intoxicating and misleading the Yankee world.

GUSTAV SCHMOLLER. 1919. Bibl. VIII, D. 177, p. 722.

THAT this most important among the neutral Powers was from the very first day inwardly on the side of the enemies of the German Reich, became clear. . . . The population, except for the Germans and Irish, stood entirely on the enemy's side; it had for years been prepared in that sense by the Press, which was entirely pro-British, and policy was determined by important financiers of Jewish and Anglo-Saxon origin, who from the outset would not allow a victory of the Central Powers.

HEINRICH CLASS.¹ 1920. Bibl. V, 21, p. 87.

Is the United States a power with a future? . . .

All we know is that so far there is neither a real nation nor a real State.

Actually, what it amounts to is a boundless field and a population of trappers, drifting from town to town in the dollarhunt, unscrupulous and dissolute, for the law is only for those who are not cunning or powerful enough to ignore it.

OSWALD SPENGLER. 1933. Bibl. VIII, A. 68, p. 67 (Engl. ed.).

WHEREAS the eastern third of the country is inhabited both north and south by a population of predominantly English or Scotch blood, the predominant elements in the Middle West, especially between Ohio and the great lakes, are German and Scandinavian. One day, perhaps, these elements may break away politically from the Anglo-Saxons. . . .

EWALD BANSE. 1934. Bibl. VIII, E. 3, p. 335.

¹ See footnote, p. 26.

THIS level-headed and materially-minded American has very little culture, but he makes up for it in self-confidence. From ignorance of everything outside America and from sheer enthusiasm he refuses to recognise the existence of difficulties and confidently takes upon himself anything that is calculated to increase his wealth and his power.

EWALD BANSE. *Bibl., ibid.*, p. 337.

THE American soldier came into the war very late in the day and had against him an enemy worn out by hard fighting and privation. . . .

It is hardly correct to speak of their victory, which was rather the falling back of the starved, weakened and despairing German armies.

EWALD BANSE. *Bibl., ibid.*, p. 338.

I BELIEVE in America's GERMAN HOUR. I have no proof, and it may seem hard to believe. Yet the great world-historical developments mature underground until they suddenly emerge as a seeming surprise. My conviction would be less staunch . . . but for two facts: the German renaissance and the breakdown of the old American ideals. . . . America has lost faith and ideals, and is in danger of becoming the cockpit of vague world ideas. Americans of British blood don't see this; they cannot, don't want to see it. They have always been individualists, optimists, fortune's favourites. . . . It is different with Americans of German blood. . . . A man will rise from among them and gather them, a German Thomas Paine. . . . They will all come, so soon as they realise the simple truth that they are not AMERICANS but AMERIKANER, men of German blood and American soil.

COLIN ROSS, *Unser Amerika*, Leipzig, 1936,
pp. 16, 300, 317.

ONE warmongering speech from him [Pres. Roosevelt] follows another. A few days ago, he admitted openly that he expected a war. Who, then, is it that spreads fear among the people, who, according to his own words, tremble in fear of war: the Leader of the German nation with his words 'I believe in a long peace', or this wolf in sheep's clothing who, decorated with a Hebrew medal, tries to organise on the wireless the encirclement of Germany and Italy by a so-called 'peace appeal'? He has not even his own nation behind him, but he pretends to be the protector of foreign nations who are no concern of his.

DR. AUGUST BICKEL, *Fränkische Tageszeitung*,
17 April 1939.

. . . This state of affairs [the political gangsterism in the U.S.A.] will be changed only when Roosevelt has been replaced by a more honest and politically cleaner man. . . .

Der Angriff, 22 Feb. 1939.

. . . That is America's policy: to prolong the war so as to emerge from it the sole arbiter and owner of the American continent. . . .

German Broadcast in Spanish, for Latin America,
from Zeesen, 9 Jan. 1941.

. . . For over 150 years the United States has been interested in seeing Europe occupied with herself. They were as interested in the balance of power as the British were. The British Fleet seemed to them an ideal instrument for keeping that balance of power. When, in 1917, it became obvious that the Allies were about to lose the war, the Americans jumped in. Now, the situation is very different. The German military campaigns have eliminated all their Continental enemies, and American statesmen have learned from their experiences of the last twenty-two years. They helped too much during that time. The victors came out of the war quite strong and only the losers appeared to be temporarily eliminated. That had not been the American plan. The idea had been that, at the end of the World War, all Europe, including Great Britain, should have emerged bankrupt. So America resolved to try again, when opportunity should arise.

German Broadcast from Bremen, 13 Jan. 1941.

. . . George Washington was to America what Adolf Hitler is to Europe to-day.

German Broadcast, 5 Dec. 1940.

Section 4

LATIN AMERICA

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The German plans have always provided and still provide for setting the Republics of Latin America in antagonism to the United States, not, of course, because Germany has any special sympathy for these republics, but because it is a move in the attempt to shatter pan-American solidarity and so pave the way for Germany to enter the Western hemisphere as the 'Leader-State' of the whole world.

WITH respect to the events in Brazil, a proposal to Reich Chancellor von Caprivi on behalf of the managing committee, petitioning for the despatch of German warships to Brazil to watch over the defence of German interests there . . . was accepted.

Meeting of the Pan-German Union. Berlin,
21 Nov. 1891. Bibl. III, 40, p. 2.

IF the German Empire proposes to reconquer the position of a ruling power in the world, . . . then let its aim be to acquire a decisive influence in the region where such influence is still possible, namely, in South America, and this not merely by occupying territory . . . but by forming there a base of operations, of a financial, politico-commercial, industrial and even—in case of necessity—military nature, for the States of South America, against the increasing avidity of the United States.

W. SIEVERS.¹ 1903. Bibl. VIII, D. 190, p. 94.

. . . I know that the opportunity to set our foot in Brazil has passed. But it presented itself in 1889. In that year a certain number of German officers disembarked with the intention of conquering Brazil, which was writhing in the convulsions of civil war. (I may not give my sources.) It would have been possible then. It is impossible to-day. But no idea ought ever to be condemned as absolutely unrealisable, above all in politics. Everything depends on circumstances. The same *coup d'État* which is a failure to-day can succeed to-morrow.

ALBRECHT WIRTH. 1904. *Unsere äussere Politik*,
pp. 4-5.

IN South and Central America there exist a large number of free States in which the people are anything but free. On the West Coast and in the South Spanish is the ruling tongue, in the East, Portuguese. These States came into being at the beginning of last century through the disintegration of the Spanish and Portuguese possessions, as even then the incapacity of these two countries to govern overseas territories had been demonstrated. It could scarcely have been worse then than it is to-day. One holder of power is trying to supplant the other, through perpetual rebellions and bloody wars, which only serve the selfish interests of parvenus with a lust for fame and possessions and

¹ Professor at Giessen University.

waste the prosperity of the people, who are oppressed like slaves and kept in a state of ignorance.

OTTO RICHARD TANNENBERG. 1911. Bibl. IX, 153,
p. 227.

IN South America it is worth our guarding highly treasured real values to assure them their full development.

... We demand the freedom of the South American field of labour, not in a frivolous chase after hazy aims, but to will our own thoroughly understood future.

P. GAST.¹ In: *Deutschland und Südamerika*,
1915, pp. 10-12.

A GENUINE bulwark against the Union's lust for power could be formed only if the Central and South American States could achieve fusion as a political and economic unity.

Imperfect as the strivings of the Hero-Americans to assure their independence through alliance seem to us, with all its strength Latin America resists the protectorate of the North and its interference in the internal affairs of the Latin democracies. But in the defence of their independence they need the economic assistance of Europe now as always. 'Among the European States,' writes Dänell (Ernst Dänell, *Das Ringen der Weltmächte um Mittel- und Südamerika*—"The Struggle for World Power in Central and South America", Meereskund, Heft 146, Berlin, 1919, p. 32), 'hitherto none has been so serviceable as Germany. Her economic development was a blessing for Latin America, for it did not allow the English and North American competition to degenerate into an oppressive single hegemony. ...'

If in future the struggle against the overwhelming English and North American competition should still be as heavy, we Germans must see to it that we win back a share in Latin America's economic life. There are still free, proud people there . . . who even during the war did not wish to let the wire to Germany be cut. . . . Moreover, South America will still become the chief land for German emigrants. For the Latin countries of the world need men, and unfortunately Germany can supply men in adequate numbers.

HERMANN WATJEN.² 1922. Bibl. II, 18, Vol. v,
p. 101.

¹ Dr. P. Gast, Professor at Technical High School in Aachen.

² Professor of History at the Technical High School, Karlsruhe.

THE Germans in Chile are at once a bulwark of German Kultur and a source of strength for the Chilean nation. If they have changed their nationality, this change has had no effect whatsoever upon their inner attitude towards the German people.

FRITZ KROME. *Deutsche in Südamerika*, in the series "Deutsche in Uebersee", ed. E. Barth von Wehrenalp, Leipzig, 1938, p. 33.

... There is this difference between the continents of Europe and America, that America is much vaster. The defence of international frontiers there is a far more difficult matter. The acceptance of bases by the U.S.A. in British territory and the desire of the U.S.A. for bases in other parts of the South American continent implies the occupation by U.S.A. of territories which never belonged to her; in other words, a sort of conquest of these territories. This policy, advocated by the circle of President Roosevelt, is completely imperialist in character, and constitutes a menace to the whole of Latin America. It is a transfer of the age-old discord between England and the Continent of Europe to the U.S.A. and Latin America. At the moment in which Churchill hands over British territory to the U.S.A. it is necessary to be on one's guard against falling into the clutches of U.S.A. imperialism.

GERHARDT DOHM, German Broadcast in Portuguese for Brazil from Zeesen, 24 Aug. 1940.

... *Washington's Interest in South America.* Washington's idea of South American solidarity seems to concern her own interests only. The Northern part of the three Americas is accustomed to consider American "solidarity" as a thing that she wants to defend not for her own sake but from motives of pure generosity towards the Southern part. But South and Central America have different ideas, based on reality, based on legitimate national aspirations. In South and Central America, American solidarity is much more concerned with internal matters; and it is showing much activity along these lines, nationalising foreign railways, for instance. North America wants only to increase her capital and her interests in South America; but South America wants to do without foreign capital. South America is composed of free and independent countries which won their independence a century ago. Their nationalism is becoming more intense. I think they are now already in a position to overcome the difficulties

caused by the war and other disadvantages. Their vibrant patriotism is no need of a protector. Those who know South America are well aware that her happiness lies in working out her own salvation; subdividing again, this applies still more to each independent State. And in the economic world, what they most need is a good flow of bilateral trade; they need to sell their produce in the best market. Central Europe is their best market, for North America has too much surplus of her own. And among Central European countries Germany offers them the best market of all. This market will open up after Germany's final victory is won.

German Broadcast in Portuguese for Brazil from
Zeesen, 22 Aug. 1940.

THE real aim of Washington is to form an American bloc, politically and economically, and in that way allow the Yankee business man to obtain complete financial control of South America.

German Broadcast from Zeesen, 20 Dec. 1940.

Section 5

BELGIUM, HOLLAND AND SWITZERLAND

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Both in the time of the Second Reich, and now in the Third Reich, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and Switzerland unquestionably come within the scope of the German conception of Lebensraum.

In German school atlases and geography primers these four States, with Denmark, always form a single geopolitical unit with Germany. At the very beginning of the nineteenth century Arndt wrote that "Holland's independence constitutes the most flagrant injury to Germany's natural frontier".¹ And old General von Moltke observed that 'the Rhine is Germany's river, not her frontier'.

Dietrich von Bülow, who died in 1807, Professor Lasson, Treitschke, List, Constantin Frantz, Zimmermann, Friedrich Naumann and many others advocated that these four States should all be united in Greater Germany.

In order to justify this union with Greater Germany, the German authors seek to prove that the Dutch, Flemings and Swiss are merely German peoples who have split off from the main German stem, and that they must return to the 'Rootstock'.

¹ Bibl. VIII, B. 1, p. 337.

BELGIUM, HOLLAND AND SWITZERLAND

. . . Down to the present Holland constitutes the most flagrant injury to Germany's natural frontier.

ERNST-MORITZ ARNDT. 1803. Bibl. VIII, B. 1, p. 337.

THE spirit and habits, the language and race of their inhabitants, as much as their political relations and their geographical situation, made the Low Countries a dependency of the German Empire.

In the beginning, by his frequent presence and the proximity of his residence, it is possible that Charlemagne had an infinitely more certain influence on these provinces than upon regions farther from Germany. For the natural dispositions very especially favoured the agriculture and industry of Flanders and Brabant, and the cattle-breeding and commerce of Holland. Finally, nowhere in Germany was the internal traffic sustained by a riparian and maritime navigation so well developed and so propitious as in this essentially coastal country. Flanders achieved her full expansion because her Counts, more than all the other reigning princes of Germany, realised the importance of public security and the value of roads, of manufactures, of flourishing towns.

The Swiss Confederation is nothing but an agglomeration of 'towns of the German Empire', founded and cemented by the free population of the countries situated between them.

FRIEDRICH LIST. Bibl. VIII, D. 130, p. 40 (ed. 1883).

SUMMARY			
	Popula- tion in thousands.	German.	Non- German.
Holland (1867) . . .	3,592	3,592	—
Luxembourg (1867) . . .	200	200	—
Belgium (1866) . . .	4,829	2,694	2,135
Switzerland (1860) . . .	2,510	1,765	745
Total	11,131	8,251	2,880

ADOLF WAGNER¹ (1870). Bibl. VIII, D. 216, p. 83.

¹ It is interesting to note that the famous German Professor had, already in 1870, such ideas on the "Germandom" of Holland, Luxembourg, Belgium and Switzerland. On a total of 11,131,000 inhabitants in 1870, 8,251,000 were . . . German!

BELGIUM, HOLLAND AND SWITZERLAND

STATISTICS OF GERMAN POPULATIONS IN 1911¹

	Year.	Inhabitants.	Germans.
Luxembourg . .	Census 1905	246,455	230,500
Netherlands . .	Census 1909	5,853,037	5,200,000
Belgium . .	Estimate 1909	7,451,903	3,600,000

Bibl. II, 19 (15th ed.), p. 79.

A FURTHER reason for the incorporation of the Low Countries in the German Empire is the fact that the two dialects—Dutch with five million representatives and Flemish with 3½ millions—are too insignificant to allow of an independent intellectual development.

OTTO RICHARD TANNENBERG. 1911. Bibl. IX, 153,
p. 93.

... But by its origin and all the culminating points of its evolution the civilisation of this country [*Belgium.—Ed. note*] is thoroughly Flemish. With the exception of Liège, all the large towns, all those which have a past, have a Netherlandic character: from Antwerp, which Dürer called Antorf, from Gent and Brugge and Ostende and Mecheln and Löwen and Brüssel to Ypern, to the small but interesting Veurne, which the French call Furnes, and even to the lively Kortrijk which they call Courtrai, not to mention the effect produced in German mouths by the pretty names Anvers, Ghent, Bruges, Malines, Louvain and, above all, Bruxelles.

And even at Lille (anciently Ryssel) to the south of Belgium's political frontier, one can still hear the Flemish dialect. For the North of France, the area of the five Northern Departments, which are not yet completely subdued to the French standard, still gives shelter to hundreds of thousands of Flemings. And the traveller who goes from Calais to Belgium via Dunkirk may see, at the small country railway stations, figures which formerly were to be seen only in the ancient Mark of Brandenburg and in a few other regions which form part of the ancient sphere of colonisation of the German Reich; and these also are Flemish.

... But Flemish culture itself is dead. French culture, and that not the best, penetrated into the country. It was only a quickly fading whitewash. And we must regard as a quasi-suicide the act which separated Flanders from the Low Countries of the North and from the mountains of the interior of Germany, which were far away, it is true, but are the sources of civilising and fertilising rivers. Thus

¹ Here, Switzerland is omitted, but again we get out of a total figure of 13,551,395 inhabitants 8,030,500 "Germans".

it is that, since the middle of the eighteenth century, the vital force of this highly talented race has been drying up, and it was menaced with drying up altogether when, in 1839, with the new cleavage of South and North, a purely French régime was installed in Belgium, under one of the homeless Coburgs.

KARL LAMPRECHT. *Bibl.* VIII, B. 52, Vol. 2,
pp. 402 ff. (ed. 1912).

WHAT resemblances and, nevertheless, what profound differences are observable on comparing the Reich's relations with the Swiss on the one hand, and with the western Low French and the Frisians, the Flemings and the Dutch on the other hand! Here, while there is more difference in the language, commercial relations are still more intimate. For the Netherland countries of the South and the North are the natural outlets for our principal commercial artery, the Rhine; so there is no cause for astonishment at finding some 50,000 Germans domiciled in Belgium, and above all on Flemish territory, with the exception of the Walloon frontier region of Verviers, and some 30,000 in Holland, principally in the great ports, such as Antwerp, Rotterdam and Amsterdam.

If we consider Holland in particular, the transformation which has occurred in its relations with the central Empire of Germany during the past generation could not be better characterised than by the change which has occurred in its export and import trade with Germany and England. In 1875 the figures were, expressed in florins: for the German Empire, 161.5 millions of imports and 238.7 millions of exports; for England, 241.8 millions of imports and 124.7 millions of exports. Ten years later the figures were: 312.1 millions and 413.3 millions for the Empire, 262.1 and 255.4 millions for England. And this extraordinary change in relations with the Reich and with England has been maintained in its entirety. By 1900, the Empire's exports to Holland amounted to no less than 7.5 per cent. of its total commerce; in other words, it exceeded the total of exports to France, and was almost triple those to Italy; and at the same time Dutch exports to Germany amounted to 52 per cent. of Holland's total exports in terms of value.

. . . In these conditions, the idea of linking Holland to the Empire in some way or another cannot but be in the air, and be revealed sometimes in one form, sometimes in another.

KARL LAMPRECHT. *Bibl.*, *ibid.* (ed. 1912).

FROM the end of the century affairs in the South, in German Switzerland, took a less favourable turn. Would a Swiss write to-day what Oreggi of Zurich declared in a book in 1841? He seemed 'filled with a sacred duty towards his nation, the German nation, for in the realm of the spirit, of sciences and arts, did not Germany and German Switzerland form a single people?'?

For a long time the foundation of the Reich had a negative effect on German sympathies in Switzerland, rather than a favourable one. The Swiss liked to take contemptuous stock of those poor devils of Germans, slaves to their princes. The fact that from time immemorial the great seigneurs of Basle, of Zurich and Berne also, have sought their domestics on the right bank of the Rhine, had in a sense set the tone for the judgement to be passed on the Germans in the new Empire.

... But it must be agreed that the situation has since changed, above all in the eyes of seriously-minded people; they no longer overlook the importance of the Empire and its inhabitants.

... It is above all in the sphere of material interests that Swiss Germanism and Reich Germanism will learn to know each other more intimately and to unite. It is useless to argue at length how important to German Switzerland, and above all to Basle, has been the foundation of the Empire and the absorption within its frontiers of all the left bank of the Upper Rhine; the importance of the St. Gothard railway comes just as readily to mind.

And if one desires to understand how much the transport facilities and the economic trend have already worked in the direction of fusion, one need only recall the fact that in the most industrialised and most ambitious towns of German Switzerland, at Basle and St. Gall, the Reich Germans constitute one third of the sedentary population. That which is here having a quiet beginning may one day achieve a striking development, in accordance with the spirit, if not the letter of those prophetic lines of the great Swiss poet:

'Patience! The day will come when a single tent will give shelter to all the German country.'

KARL LAMPRECHT. *Bibl., ibid.*
(ed. 1912).

(Communicated by German Embassy, 4 August)

(By telegraph)

BERLIN, 4 August 1914.

Please dispel any mistrust that may subsist on the part of the British Government with regard to our intentions, by repeating

most positively formal assurance that, even in the case of armed conflict with Belgium, Germany will under no pretext whatever annex Belgian territory. Sincerity of this declaration is borne out by fact that we solemnly pledged our word to Holland strictly to respect her neutrality. It is obvious that we could not profitably annex Belgian territory without making at the same time territorial acquisitions at the expense of Holland.

Reich Foreign Secretary to Prince Lichnowsky,
German Ambassador in London. Bibl. I,
39 (f), p. 32.

For the Netherlands Government and people the historical memories and sentimental asseverations in the realm of arts and sciences, of justice or injustice, do not enter into account, but only political and military considerations. In general the Dutch have no sympathy for us; most often, indeed, the contrary. So far as his political attitude is concerned, sympathy or antipathy leaves the Dutchman completely cold. He asks rather: How can I retain my independence, and what party brings me most advantage? from whom can I expect most, both in the good and in the bad sense of the word? When the great dealers in early garden produce yielded to England's wishes, it was fear which administered the decisive blow. Nevertheless, so far as raw materials are concerned, the Netherlands depend largely on Germany, and this would weigh infinitely more with the Dutch than their Germanic character, Rembrandt's pictures, and linguistic affinity. From the political as much as from the economic aspect the Dutch are business men, and one must speak to them on the politico-economic plane in a practical manner, without the least sentimentality. For the German Empire the principle of all negotiations must reside in the knowledge of its strength, and it would be absolutely improper to ask the Dutch for favours, at the same time recalling Rembrandt and history. In Holland that would be regarded as a sign of weakness. Germany has certainly a very great interest in maintaining good relations with Holland. But it is no less true that in regard to us they must not lose sight of the fact that Germany is a power which can give, or withhold, just as much as England.

COUNT ERNST ZU REVENTLOW. 1914. Bibl. I, 39 (f),
pp. 33 ff.

. . . In a struggle which has lasted for nearly a century, the Flemings have displayed their unconquerable will to maintain their national

peculiarities. Without outside aid, and with little or no deterioration, they have maintained their nationalism. Now the horrors of war have swept over the lands of the Flemings and Walloons. The Belgian army, consisting of 65 per cent. Flemings, has been decimated by German arms. North and south of the Meuse a wicked harvest of hate has sprung up. But the most remarkable point is that this hate is directed not against the Germans alone; the mutual dislike of Flemings and Walloons has turned into hatred. The Walloons cherish bitter suspicions of the Flemings, they scent the racial German, and are promising that after the war they will wage a life-and-death feud against the German part of the Flemish nature.

WILHELM KOTZDE. 1914. *Bibl.* V, 134, p. 35.

... Holland was compelled to bow before the might of France and consent to Belgium becoming an independent State. From that moment the Flemings, cut off in every way from their German brothers, were delivered up to the Walloons, behind whom stood the French.

The Germans at that time lacked a Bismarck to unite them and interest them in the fate of their outlying brother tribe. This war has freed our hands, which hitherto had been bound by the dictates of conscience. Of himself the German would never have kindled this world conflagration, but others have hurled the torch into our abode—and our hands are free!

We do not yet know what Belgium's fate will be, but we can be perfectly sure that the Flemings will never again be left to the mercy of the Walloons and French. They have had a wild and chequered history, and although they have often shown signs of barbarism in the fight, they have not waged this war with the devilish cruelty of the Walloons.

They lack the discipline which a well-ordered State alone can bestow. The training and education of the German military system and German administration will be a blessing to them. Even to-day many Flemings bless the hour of their return into the German paternal home.

WILHELM KOTZDE. *Bibl.*, *ibid.*

THE usages and habits, the science, the art, the religion of Holland belong to Germany, and the Dutch live a petty, very easy life in their dressing gowns and slippers, without great difficulties and without

great mental effort. If they like that it is their own affair, but the German has higher duties and higher ambitions than this miserably petty-bourgeois breed. Holland is completely free to think as she wishes, but any hostile action against the German Empire would have the gravest of consequences for her. We Germans have for this present-day Holland but little respect and sympathy. Holland, in her isolation, is sinking more and more into that narrowness of spirit which is the characteristic of petty sects. Without the support of Germany she would long since have been dead. God be thanked that the Dutch are not in the least our friends. We breathe with full breasts the ample breath of history, and we know nothing of that miserable bourgeois existence.

ADOLF LASSON. Letter to a Dutchman (Dec. 1914). Bibl. I, 39 (f), p. 29.

AND should we court the friendship of Holland? Holland ought with all the means at her disposal to try to gain our friendship, and ought to be grateful to us and flattered when a neighbour like us, who is, in all respects, a thousand times superior, taps her benevolently and amiably on the shoulder and says: 'Well! Is one always kind?' Because we are imponderables in the world we are envied and we are feared, and out of this envy and this fear springs the hatred for us. But let them hate us so long as they fear us. A blow with the iron fist of the German Michael, and what would remain of Holland? Let the dull *mijnheer* continue placidly to water his tulips, to smoke his *meerscham* and drink his cocoa, but let him keep on good terms with Germany, even if only from fear.

RICHARD ZOOZMANN. Letter to a Dutch colleague. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 30.

So far as politics are concerned, I cannot but remark that even with Antwerp we would not have enough; that would still not give us the free access to the sea which we need. In this sphere we must have certainties, and we cannot have them if Holland is not prepared to bind herself to us more than in the past.

ALFRED RUHEMANN. 1914. Bibl. I, 39 (f), p. 30.

THE fate that Belgium has called down upon herself is hard for the individual, but not too hard for this political structure (*Staatsgebilde*), for the destinies of the immortal great nations stand so high, that they

cannot but have the right, in case of need, to stride over existences that cannot defend themselves, but live as parasites upon the rivalries of the great.

HERMANN ONCKEN,¹ *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*,
Sept. 1914, p. 814.

To speak frankly . . . the annexation of Belgium and Holland would by no means be a source of pleasure to us Germans. The inhabitants of Holland have so deteriorated, as a result of centuries of narrow, petty existence; they have become so selfish, and a certain portion of them so shameless, under the Government of empty-headed small shopkeepers, that their admission to a closer participation in the existence of the empire is in no way desirable. We may well question whether these people, as a result of sharing the life of a great State, could be restored to decency and the spirit of discipline and self-sacrifice. The same may be said of Belgium, though for other motives. Her population has been corrupted by the clerical régime, and where clericalism does not reign supreme, society is undermined by socialist theories.

It is quite clear, then, to anyone who knows Belgium and Holland, that there is no reason to waste any enthusiasm over them. If, none the less, we perceive it to be our duty to annex these two countries, in some form or other, to the German Empire, it will be not for the sake of their inhabitants, but in spite of them and under the scourge of necessity.

DANIEL FRYMANN (HEINRICH CLASS).² 1914. Bibl. V,
20, pp. 152-6.

BELGIUM'S neutrality has been infringed by France and by Belgium herself, and not least through secret agreements with Britain; it had been infringed at the time of the German invasion.

WILHELM FRANZ. 1915. Bibl. VIII, D. 57, p. 39.

THE picture of German art was rendered narrower, above all, through the detaching of the northern part of Belgium and what is to-day Holland. For these territories . . . were once also purely German, and are still partly so now.

HEINRICH ADOLF SCHMID.³ 1915. Bibl. X, 5, p. 22.

¹ Hermann Oncken (1869-), historian; taught at Chicago University; Professor at Giessen, Heidelberg, Munich and Berlin.

² See footnote, p. 26.

³ H. A. Schmid (1863-), teacher of art; Professor at Basel, Prague and Göttingen.

BELGIUM, HOLLAND AND SWITZERLAND

THE question of Belgium must not be detached from the complex of the Western questions as a whole. Belgium is a most valuable pledge in our hands.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Reichstag Speech, 27 Feb.
1918. Bibl. II, 11, p. 258.

... The squares both in Brussels and in Arras are German. At every step you take in old German towns you come across the architectural conception which on Flemish soil achieved the harmony of perfection.

Nor can we regard the Axis of Paris as foreign. Yet we are even more surprised than on the compact squares of Brussels and Arras. Here something strikes us which in this form of architectural expression was not carried to perfection in Germany: Regal will to power.

Here speaks that Frank Empire which, out of the fulness of artifice of its still unweakened blood, built expressions of Power.

But that blood was Germanic.

FRITZ NONNENBRUCH, *Völkischer Beobachter*,
27 Aug. 1940.

THE European Revolution discharges itself in three directions:

(1) A new political conception of life has risen from National Socialism and Fascism. It was born out of the necessity to master the social and economic requirements of the twentieth century. This raises for Switzerland the question of her form of government and of the ideological content of her institutions.

(2) The future Europe will no longer know a political balance of the Powers under English hegemony, but a 'non-equilibrium' and a European solidarity under the leadership of Germany and Italy. This raises for Switzerland the question of the worth of her neutrality. In case of such a 'non-equilibrium' it would no longer be in Europe's interest to insulate certain nerve centres politically and strategically.

(3) The rebirth of the Reich idea puts the relation of Switzerland to Germany in the forefront of Swiss life. Firstly, because Switzerland was formerly part of the Reich, secondly, because she is situated directly within the magnetic field of the Reich. Switzerland would therefore not have to prepare for the entry of tanks and divisions. The problem will be whether Switzerland wants to hinder the entry of the new European ideas and to make a hopeless attempt to escape from Europe.

Das Reich, Berlin, no. 27, 24 Nov. 1940.

Section 6

FRANCE AND ITALY

At bottom it is a small number of rare Frenchmen to whom I return again and again: I believe only in French education and consider everything else in Europe that calls itself "education" as a misunderstanding, to say nothing of German education. . . . The few cases of high education I have found in Germany are all of French origin. . . .

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, *Ecce Homo*.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

*Having no doubt as to the superiority of the German over the Latin races, Germany has never concealed her contempt for France and Italy. But there was a certain difference in her attitude to these two nations: Italy was merely slighted and scorned, whereas Germans always felt a profound hatred for France as 'the secular enemy'. This hatred has found its most extreme expression in *Mein Kampf*. But sometimes Germans took into account the possibility which, since the end of June 1940, they have been seeking to make a reality, namely that a defeated and impotent France could be drawn into the work of building up a new German order in Europe, in which she would be allotted the subordinate position of Germany's vassal.*

Perhaps Bismarck most crushingly expressed the German hatred for France in his phrase: 'The French must be left only their eyes to weep with.'

The German estimate of the Italians' military virtues seems to have been justified, in view of events in the present war. But it is impossible to resist a smile on finding such an estimate among the writers of a nation which has twice committed the same error of basing its security partly on an Italian alliance.

GOD who makes this iron grow, He wishes now no slaves;
He gives to man in righteousness his spears and pikes and blades.
He gives to man his bravery, the anger of hot breath
Which man keeps keen in combat fierce, till bloody feud brings
death.

Let sound what now can only sound: the drums' and cymbals' clash,
To-day we stand, each man for man. The iron's bloody flash
With hangmen's blood, with Frenchmen's blood, our vengeance now
is sweet,

For Germans all, this is our goal. Hear drums and trumpets beat.

ERNST MORITZ ARNDT. Bibl. I, 43, p. 84.

OPINION of the French: "This tiger-ape nation" ("Cette nation tigre singe").

BARON VOM STEIN.¹ Letter dated 7 March 1811.

THIS unclean, brazen and vicious French race needs to be ruled with
an iron rod. It is disgusting to see how, after covering itself with
crimes, it speaks of its loyalty, its kindness, its generosity.

BARON VOM STEIN. Bibl. VIII, B. 53, Part III,
pp. 373-4.

THE French must be left only their eyes to weep with.

BISMARCK. Bibl. I, 39 (g), p. 20.

THE Latin race is a worn-out race.² I must admit that it has accom-
plished great achievements, but to-day it has played out its rôle.
It is condemned to extermination and disappearance probably in
its entirety, or at least in the character of a constituted whole.

HELMUTH VON MOLTKE.

The German race is young, powerful, it possesses positive merits
and the spirit of initiative which the Latins once possessed.
The future belongs to the peoples of the North. . . .

BISMARCK, 12 Oct. 1870.
Bibl. V, 10 (a), Vol. i, p. 58.

¹ Heinrich Baron vom Stein (1757-1831), German statesman.

² The thesis that the Latin race is worn out, which plays such a prominent part in National-Socialist literature, was not advanced only by Frederick List. Almost all the German writers so far cited also advance it; it is argued by Helmuth von Moltke and by Bismarck also, in terms similar to those used by Hitler and Alfred Rosenberg.

FRANCE has made all her acquisitions at the expense of Germany. The loss of Burgundy and Naples, and also of Franche-Comté; of French Lorraine and the French town of Arras, was serious from the political aspect, if not from the national aspect. But the loss of Alsace and German Lorraine entailed also a serious blow at our national interests. These beautiful districts were torn from Germany like a scrap of living flesh and were subjected to the influence of a foreign nationality. But worst of all, this instance clearly proved that the German nation had lost its ancient supremacy in Europe. Until then the Latin or Slav peoples had obeyed their German masters. Now, for the first time, the German peoples are obedient to foreign masters. That which the Latin State had done in the West, the Slav State soon did in the East, and hardly had France taken Alsace from us than Russia, on the other frontier, ravished German Livonia from us.

HELMUTH VON MOLTKE. Bibl. VI, 41, Vol. 2,
p. 198 (publ. 1881).

WHETHER the frivolous, dissipated people play at republics again for a few years . . . whether the constitutional comedy is performed once more under the House of Orleans—what does it matter to us? . . .

But we will not be deceived again as to this fact: that *our enemy is France, the French people, not Napoleon.*

ADOLF WAGNER.¹ 1870. Bibl. VIII, D. 216, p. 3.

WE know that we are fighting not against Napoleon, *but against France and the French.* This people, which for years lay in the dust before its ruler, has now dropped him because he has lost a few battles! It will now try once more to convince itself, and the world, that it is not its own wretchedness but its ruler who was responsible for all the evil! Well, I hope we shall not allow ourselves to be misled by such hackneyed lies.

ADOLF WAGNER. 1870. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 7.

WELL, to us Germans it is a matter of indifference whether the French have this or that form of government. But their power to harm us—we want to break that in all circumstances, and the latest

¹ Adolf Wagner (1835–1917), economist; Professor at the Universities of Dorpat, Freiburg and Berlin; member of the Prussian House of Lords; Hon. President of several Evangelical Congresses; outstanding German economist of his time.

Republican farce, which will probably run its course even more deplorably than the previous two, shall not save them.

ADOLF WAGNER. 1870. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 8.

IN all French life there is about 30 per cent. of our race, which, after conquering the Gallo-Roman mass, has fused with it. It is everlastingly forbidden to us to withdraw our blood thence by way of separating out the juices, but this 30 per cent. signifies for us, in round figures, 25 French departments.

H. VON PFISTER STEIN.¹ Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 51.

RICHELIEU broke only the political power of the Huguenots. By the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, Louis XIV completed his work. This measure drove from the North of France especially the good Frank elements which St. Bartholomew's Day had left there, and, in the south, achieved by the dragonnades the degermanisation which had been prepared by the war of the Albigenes.

Louis XIV was the most spiritless king of any who ever ascended a throne. He had no understanding whatever of anything possessing a popular, liberal, individualistic, ideological character,—in a word, of anything Germanic.

HEINRICH DRIESMANS.² 1899. Bibl. VIII, B. 15,
Vol. i (cf. I, 2 (a), pp. 289-90.)

THE French are only a people of apes (*Affenvolk*). The Celtic race, as seen in Ireland and France, has always manifested the bestial instinct, whereas we Germans never act except under the urge of a sacred and holy idea. There is always petulance combined with vanity and arrogance showing through the Gallic mask.

PROF. LEO. Bibl. I, 27, p. 25.

[*Editorial note.*—The following passage demands an explanation. Seeking to trace a connection between anthropological evolution and the political evaluation of races, the socialist Woltmann is greatly occupied with problems associated with the hereditary transmission of mental qualities and the selection of geniuses. An out-and-out pangerman, he arrives at the conclusion that as the Germans constitute the sole élite

¹ Professor H. von Pfister Stein (1877), Darmstadt.

² Heinrich Driesmans (1863-), writer and politician; wrote poems and plays, but was especially concerned with problems of cultural history and racial questions.

among the peoples, the outstanding men of all the peoples who are Germany's neighbours are consequently of German type. After trying to prove that Napoleon I was of Germanic type, Woltmann says, inter alia:]

La Fayette: 'La Fayette was a representative type of the Germanic race.' Voltaire also; because 'he was of the same stature' as the preceding!

And J. J. Rousseau: 'He was of average size, his hair was black, his eyes brown, he had a brownish complexion, but quite clear, so that his cheeks were fresh and rosy.' So he was a German!

And Mme de Staël, Montaigne, and Victor Hugo also. Of Hugo, Woltmann asserts that 'his head was enormous, with a very broad cranium. His countenance was broad too, the nose rather large and slightly hooked.'

LUDWIG WOLTMANN. 1905. Bibl. VIII, F. 43, p. 111.

A MIXTURE of races does not constitute a solid basis for a democracy, but for demagoguery and absolutism.

France is moving towards ethnic chaos, and the Germanic blood will soon be exhausted if France is left to herself.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl. VIII, B, 81, pp. 99 ff.

... We desire to and must choose the hour which will be favourable to us for settling our account, because it is not with us that France wishes to unite, but with all our enemies, and because she has lost faith in our determination not to bear much longer the burden of this situation. Those who disturb it, irritate it without drawing torrents of blood from it, only increase the danger for us. As the Western Powers restrict our right to life, we must disembarass ourselves of them by force. Hunt the searchers for lice! Let every one take care, each in his own sphere, that Germany shall never rise to action without a great aim worthy of her, and then let no menace, no trick of bargaining make her give up so much as the thickness of a nail of her claims.

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN, *Zukunft*, 12 Aug. 1911.

... The Anglo-Saxons of both hemispheres assemble their multitudes along the coasts of two oceans in order to unite their wills. To them it is that the hegemony of the white race will return to-morrow

if we do not sink our ancient quarrel. United with the French, we would be invincible on land and sea, for we represent an economic realm abundantly rich in gold, and we are the guardians of civilisation.

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN, *Zukunft*, 1 July 1911.

. . . We wish to advance, and we can do so only if we fight France once more or prevail upon her to conclude a solid and unreserved alliance with us. To achieve this end no unusual rhetoric is required; all that is needed is that France should be again convinced that Germany is ready to make war.

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN, *Zukunft*, 1 July 1911.

. . . so we should be contented with any solution that ensures free development for France, misguided, deluded France, as well, and we should not give up hope that one day our two nations—that Satan, England, having been prevented from sowing its weeds among the wheat—will be linked in the peaceful work of civilisation.

There are two Frances: a France whose features I do not propose to trace here and which is ultimately responsible for France's entry into this war. Against *this* France we must defend ourselves. There is, in addition, another France: a France that wants to renew itself from its inner resources, that wants to create new, constructive values. This latter France does not need to live on thoughts of *revanche*. It is *not* our opponent; on the contrary, it is impelled in every way to collaborate with us.

The heart of *this* France is North Africa. . . . If, in Morocco, there are a French and a Spanish zone working side by side, there is no reason whatever why there should not be a German zone as well. It might help to lead France to be more careful not to oppose German economic activity within the French zone . . . by backdoor methods.

GEORG KAMPFMEYER. 1914. Bibl. VIII, D. 101, pp. 26–8.

EVERYTHING great that has been achieved in French and Italian art since Roman times goes back to tribes and estates with a strong admixture of Teutonic blood and, particularly in earlier times, to the descendants of Teutonic families who had preserved their blood, or, at any rate, their character.

H. A. SCHMID, Göttingen. 1915. Bibl. X, 5, p. 21.

WHEN the war began, I, in common with many others, thought that an *understanding with France* might still be arrived at, since there was no enmity against France on the German side. We can offer them our hand as soon as they like. . . . Therefore . . . we leave the French out of account, still hoping that in the distant future they might regard themselves as part of *Mittleuropa*.

FRIEDRICH NAUMANN. 1915. Bibl. V, 123, pp. 1-2.

It is true, however, that, for instance, Latin art, while possessing good qualities that it shares with ours, also shows features that are entirely foreign to us, and which we must therefore trace back to Roman or Celtic origins. These qualities are: rhetorical pathos, a chasing after theatrical effect, pleasure in doctrinaire construction and a bent for superficial dexterity.

KONRAD LANGE. Bibl. X, 3, p. 16.

1866 was a duel between two gentlemen; in 1870-71 we were obliged to chastise an impudent street arab; but to-day we must knock down a scoundrel.

FIELD-MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG. Bibl. VIII, D. 44, p. 42 (publ. 1918).

. . . the French people deserves neither sympathy nor admiration. No sympathy . . . Nor admiration, not even in the cultural sense. It is a decaying people. Let us rejoice over its decline, for that is one of the basic conditions of our rise.

GERHARD ANSCHÜTZ. 1917. Bibl. VIII, D. 3, p. 22.

BEFORE crossing swords again with the French and Belgians, we ought to examine our consciousness. We ought to find once more the spirit animating us in 1914. . . .

We shall never forget that at the time when we were strong we were ruling the world. If I have power, I have right, without power I have not got right. . . .

Unless we learn to hate our enemies, we shall not be strong. . . . We all have a duty, when the hour comes, to bring our proud army to life again. It is not to-day nor yet to-morrow that we shall attack the French, but next year, when we meet again, I hope to see our children hate everything that is French and "Welsche" (Celtic).

GENERAL VON MUDRA,¹ Bibl. I, 10, p. 133.

¹ General von Mudra was chairman of the German Haeseler-Bund.

. . . France is and will remain the implacable enemy of Germany.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 505.

FRANCE's activities in Europe to-day, spurred on by the French lust for vengeance and systematically directed by the Jew, are a criminal attack against the life of the white race and will one day arouse against the French people a spirit of vengeance among a generation which has recognised the original sin of mankind in this racial pollution.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 509.

If France develops along the lines it has taken in our day, and should that development continue for the next three hundred years, all traces of French blood will finally be submerged in the formation of a Euro-African Mulatto State. This would represent a formidable and compact colonial territory stretching from the Rhine to the Congo, inhabited by an inferior race which had developed through a slow and steady process of bastardisation.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 525.

THEREFORE we must stop at no sacrifice in our effort to destroy the French striving towards hegemony over Europe.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 542.

WERE I a Frenchman and were the greatness of France as dear to me as that of Germany actually is, in the final reckoning I could not and would not act otherwise than as Clemenceau.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 548.

No matter whether clerical power politics, or obtuse free-thinking alternate in the [French] Government—the great creative spirit will always be absent. . . . Abominable mulatto-like blustering *nouveaux riches* pollute the race of those yet beautiful females who from all over France are being lured to Paris. Thus we are witnesses even now to what has happened before to Rome, Athens, and Persepolis. This is why close ties with France, quite apart from the politico-military issue, are so dangerous from the point of view of race history.

ALFRED ROSENBERG. 1931. Bibl. V, 170, p. 104.

THE history of France is now finished. No matter whether it is clerical ambition for power or stupid Liberalism that alternate in the government, grandiose creativeness will be absent in any case. France

will therefore be borne on by an instinctive racial fear, the consequence of the race-shame that *never* leaves any bastard who, at most, is outwardly victorious. Hence the still prevailing abject fear of Germany, defeated with the aid of the whole world.

ALFRED ROSENBERG. 1931. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 119.

NATURALLY conclusions so disruptive were nowhere drawn with a rigour so withering as in the field ravaged, even so, by the egotism of primitive instincts, viz., sexual love and marriage. France's is the wretched honour of having prepared a path, both in literature and in practical life, for arrant licence also in this respect. . . .

The number of marriages barren as a result of misuse of alcohol, also the extent of hereditary insanity, is higher in France than in the rest of Central, Western, and Northern Europe. Altogether France's proportion of insanity in the total population is well on the way to beating all European records.

MARTIN HIERONIMI, *Sterbendes Frankreich*, pp. 17, 25.

WITH such a restless, ambitious, resolute and brutal nation as the French, obviously there can be no question of peaceful, neighbourly relations—so much should be clear from the history of the last four hundred years. It is a question of eat or be eaten. But for the peace of the world it is undoubtedly far better that the final victory should rest with a peace-loving nation like the German, not with a restless and perpetually covetous one like the French.

EWALD BANSE. 1934. Bibl. VIII, E. 3, p. 235.

THUS France herself is developing into a coloured Power. . . . Also in the coloured evolution of France may be found the key to an appreciation of the French pact with Asiatic Bolshevism, for Bolshevism is at bottom really nothing but a coloured affair. Clearly it is just that form of economic and political life which accords with the needs of Asiatics.

PAUL BANG,¹ *Die Farbige Gefahr* (Göttingen, 1938), p. 96.

A NATION like the French, incapable of defending their inflated pride of culture with their own blood, dares to scream about 'bar-

¹ Paul Bang (1879-), economist and politician; Secretary to Ministry of Economics in first Hitler Government; member of Reichstag and of Council of Pangerman League; German Delegate to World Economic Conference, 1933.

barians' who, conscious of their racial worth, have found the oneness of land and blood and intellect and heart—while they, these very dying French, blinded by an old man's fading fury, buy up the lot of all those black creeping things that know of no allegiance to either King or Country. . . . It is not with the suave smile of an elegant girl—as French propaganda lyingly pretends—but with the black grimace of a nigger, that this doomed nation faces Europe. . . . Clean Europe must be if it is to live. A national organism that thrives on nought but self-deception, on a pathological urge to overrate its own strength, an organism that evidently cannot hope to survive unless it suck out of others what marrow it lacks, through a wicked mixture of vengeance and chicanery—such an organism has no room in the new Europe.

Hamburger Fremdenblatt, no. 147, 31 May 1940.

WE have not forgotten, nor are we likely ever to forget, but now there approaches the hour of retribution. There is no reason at all why we should be lenient.

Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, no. 153,
1 June 1940.

THERE is no word of horror strong enough to characterise the abysmal bestiality of these French. They have shown what actually is behind the French veneer of civilisation. We shall not forget it!

Der Mittag, Düsseldorf, no. 131, 7 June 1940.

COMRADES! Black soldiers fought during the Great War against the German soldiers. France invaded the Rhineland in peace time with niggers, and coloured people from all continents fought in this war against our soldiers. They were to occupy Germany under French command, and to disgrace our homeland.

The 'comrades' of the black beasts are the French soldiers who a few weeks ago faced our brothers, sons and husbands in a life-and-death struggle. Now, as the conquered, they have to bear the well-merited lot of captivity, just like the Poles.

Remember! It is undignified to have anything to do with war captives, to talk to them, or to show them any kindness. Anyone who gives them refreshments or other presents, commits a punishable offence. Again—Keep away from war captives!

Bodensee Rundschau, no. 194, 17 Aug. 1940.

[*Editorial note.*—The following passage calls for an explanation: cf. p. 214. The thesis dear to the Pangermanists' hearts, that it is the Germans who have regenerated Europe, was developed by Woltmann from the angle of 'Social Darwinism'. According to him it could be proved that the decadence of the Romans had as a consequence the disappearance of tall men, and that the Germans have given Italy the intellectual renaissance, and, with it, tall men of genius. He declares:]

So there is nothing astonishing in the fact that almost all the great men of Italy, whether in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, or in modern times, have Germanic names:

Dante Alighieri (Aigler)	Raphael Santi (Sandt)
Leonardo da Vinci (Winke)	Michel Angelo
Tiziano Vecelli (Wetzel)	Buonarotti (Bohnrodt)
Benzo di Cavour (Benz)	Garibaldi (Kerpolt).
Boccaccio (Buchatz)	

Woltmann admits that to trace the origin of the names is not sufficient to prove racial origins. But, he says, his researches go further. The anthropological characteristics (tall or medium height, general complexion—white or pink, blue eyes, etc.) come to his support:

... But the anthropological examination of the physical type establishes beyond all doubt that the majority of the great men of Italy are descended from Germans.

To the blonde type belong Giotto, Dante, Donatello, Masaccio, Da Vinci, Raphael, Botticelli, Titian, Galileo, Tasso, Christopher Columbus and, among the moderns, Alfieri, Volta, Leopardi, Garibaldi, Cavour, Bellini, Rossini, Donizetti, Canova, and Manzoni.

... The Germanic origin of some of these men of genius can even be established by their genealogy. Michel Angelo, Vallisneri, Mirandola, and Aquinas were of Lombard origin, Tasso of Burgundian origin, Alberti of Frank origin, Telesio of Swabian origin, Cavour of German origin.

LUDWIG WOLTMANN. 1905. Bibl. VIII, F. 43,
pp. 124 ff.

... Italy cannot be looked upon as a rival, for she is too incompetent in warfare. . . .

Anonymous, 1900. Bibl. II, 13, p. 53.

ITALY

It has now been convincingly proved that it must have been chiefly the unmixed remnants of the Teutonic and German immigrants who advanced the movement, and not, or at any rate more rarely, people of mixed German-Roman stock. The leaders of the spiritual movements in Italy mostly came from regions and localities where German blood had preserved itself to a particularly large extent. . . . Gari-baldi not only had a German name, but also fair hair; Raphael, too. . . . Still more significant is the fact that the great Venetians, like Titian, and probably also Bellini, represented the German type. . . .

H. A. SCHMID. 1915. Bibl. X, 5, p. 17.

THE Italians are half-Jews so far as their descent is concerned, and almost complete Jews in character.

THEODOR FRITSCH, *Der Hammer*, no. 508,
15 Aug. 1923.

THE Italian Government has now written her perfidy indelibly with letters of blood on the pages of history.

REICH CHANCELLOR VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG,
Reichstag Speech, 28 May 1915.

THE military value of a nation with these moral qualities is more than questionable. The Italian is essentially unmilitary, and when he is dressed in uniform, he struts about flashing his eyes and rattling his sabre, hoping that everyone will look at him.

And when the Italians find themselves in a really tight corner, as on the Isonzo front at the end of October 1917, there is no holding them. Universal panic sets in and each man thinks only of saving his own skin.

EWALD BANSE. 1934. Bibl. VIII, E. 3, pp. 324-5.

THE character of the Italian people as a whole may, from the point of view of national defence, be shortly described as follows: Its main feature is a passionate and quickly-spent impetuosity. It cannot endure a long nervous strain, which produces headlong panic. The Italian is eager for the fruits of victory and the victor's laurels, but at a minimum risk. He is very clever at snatching the chestnuts which he has allowed others to pull out of the fire for him. On this account he always takes the side of the stronger, and is unreliable both as an ally and as a companion in arms. . . . The unreliability,

Deutsch-Südtirol



MAP OF GERMAN-SOUTHERN TYROL

Published in 1927 by the *Deutscher Schutzbund*, Berlin.

(Frontispiece of issue Nr. 35 of "*Taschenbuch des Grenz und Auslandsdeutschtums*".)

excessive caution and timidity of the Italian character were on the whole correctly estimated by our higher command in the War.

EWALD BANSE. 1934. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 327.

ALTHOUGH at no point victorious, Italy received from the Allies the full price of her treachery—in particular, the whole of the Southern Tyrol with its flourishing German culture, Istria with the Alpine foreland to the north, and parts of Dalmatia.

EWALD BANSE. 1934. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 330.

THE slogan of the civilising mission of Italy in Africa has been felt in South Tyrol to be a downright irony.

Der Volksdeutsche,¹ Berlin, Jan. 1936.

¹ Official organ of the "Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland".

Section 7

RUSSIA

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

From the times of Frederick the Great down to our own day the Germans have always regarded the Russians as barbarians. But the conclusions drawn from this view are twofold. On the one hand Germany wishes to assure herself of the friendship of these 'barbarians' in order more easily to obtain domination of Europe; on the other hand she regards Russia as one of the main objects of her expansion. So far periods of Russo-German friendship have been a more normal phenomenon, whereas periods of conflict have been rare and rather in the nature of exceptions. All Prussian policy was based on good relations with Russia. The policy of the Second Reich, especially in Bismarck's day, also followed this course. In Wilhelm II's times there ensued a period of conflict which was ended by the Weimar Republic. During the Weimar period one of the main elements in Germany's foreign policy was friendship with Russia, begun in 1922 in the Rapallo Treaty by Rathenau and Chicherin, and expressed inter alia in the close co-operation of the Reichswehr and the Red Army. Hitler put an end to this period, and gave it to be understood that Russia was the main object of his plans. But, in view of an eventual conflict with the West, in 1939 Hitler turned from the course which Wilhelm II had pursued and followed in the steps of Frederick the Great and Bismarck. German-Russian friendship was reborn.

These two phases of Nazi policy—the first initiated with the anti-Soviet invectives of Mein Kampf and the second with the Pact of Friendship and Non-Aggression of 23 August 1939—are both reflections of German vacillation in regard to Russia, already revealed in the history of the two countries' previous relations.

OF all Prussia's neighbours the Russian Empire is the most dangerous, both from its power and its geographical position, and those who rule Prussia after me should cultivate the friendship of those barbarians, because they are able to ruin Prussia altogether through the immense number of their mounted troops, whilst one cannot repay them for the damage which they may do because of the poverty of that part of Russia which is nearest to Prussia, and through which one has to pass in order to get into the Ukraine.

FREDERICK THE GREAT, 1763-1764.
Histoire de mon temps. Bibl. IV, 4.

ONE of the first principles of politics is to endeavour to become an ally of that one of one's neighbours who may become most dangerous to one's State. For that reason we have an alliance with Russia, and thus we have our back secured as long as the alliance lasts.

FREDERICK THE GREAT, *Exposé du Gouvernement prussien.* Bibl., *ibid.*

EVER since Europe has known a Russian State, she has observed that the nature of that nation is essentially rapacious and that there is nothing else to be expected of her in the future.

The power which unites so compact a mass of barbarian hordes into one nation is purely military, and has almost no solid base on which to rest. In such a country, the habitual and rational course of civilisation is far too slow to enable the government within a comparatively short period to give its might a more solid base, better suited to the well-being of the individuals. Created by the bayonet, maintained and sustained, enlarged and consolidated by the bayonet, it is only by the bayonet that she has any future in her hands. If she deviated in the least from this vital principle she would abdicate.

Conquest is a natural need for Russia, just as the chase of the more feeble and inoffensive animals is for the wild beast. Sometimes, also, the wild beast, above all when it is at rest, seems calm and peaceable, but no naturalist would be deceived as to its true nature; he knows that its placidity indicates only that it is digesting its morning meal, that sleep restores its exhausted forces, or else that it is thinking of a fresh prey and is lying in wait for it.

FRIEDRICH LIST. 1850. Bibl. VIII, D. 129, Vol. 2,
p. 314.

EVER since, in order to acquire a piece of Swedish Pomerania, Frederick William I allied himself with the Russian Empire, Russia's

friendship has continued uninterruptedly as a guiding principle of all Prussian policy. This way of flirting with the Muscovite spirit, to which it would be far better to show our teeth, is quite simply the disgrace of Prussian history. As a result something of Russian has entered into the Prussian genius, and infinite evil has resulted for Germany as a whole. But Prussia wished to protect its rear, and while for its part it renounced all activity in the North-East of Europe, and so obtained the right to seek new acquisitions in Germany, Russia profited by the opportunity to extend more and more in a westerly direction. And this was so only because Prussia's policy of conquest in Germany had created a permanent rivalry with Austria. Thus we assisted at the edifying spectacle of two great Germanic powers which, instead of uniting to repulse the Asiatic barbarism, as one would have expected from the German Northern Marches and the Austrian Eastern Marches, rather sought mutually to oust each other at St. Petersburg, and thus, in the end, only served as pedestal to the greatness of Russia. . . . So we must end with all this talk about most holy Russia, we must finish once for all with Russian friendship. For one thing is quite certain: it is that our hereditary enemy on the eastern frontiers may some day become infinitely more dangerous than our other hereditary enemy has ever been on our western frontiers. And how ill-omened has this enemy's influence already been! If the European peace which followed after 1815 has been in reality only an armed peace, it is in Russia that the first cause has primarily to be sought. By her domination of Poland she thrust herself like a wedge between Prussia and Austria, and so could far more easily encourage the rivalry between these two powers. And thus she obtained all the power, according to circumstances, thenceforth to hurl herself on either the one or the other. That is why Prussia and Austria have had continually to be on their guard.

CONSTANTIN FRANTZ. 1882. *Bibl.* IX, 37, Vol. 2,
p. 55.

WHO would venture to deny that at that time Russia genuinely came to our aid, which for that matter was why she claimed and finally obtained an excessive recompense? But if from a certain viewpoint Russia could be considered as our hereditary friend, I maintain that this friend is ten times more dangerous to us than the nation which so far has been our hereditary enemy, that is to say, France. Since the latter lost Strasbourg and Metz, she is no longer able single-handed to do us any great injury. If the possession of Metz was the original

basis of French predominance, the possession of Strasbourg definitely guaranteed her predominant situation. Her hereditary hostility was born from these circumstances alone, it was not inherent in the nature of things.

Moreover, a pacific compromise with France, and even an entente with her, are, truth to tell, always possible. With Russia, on the contrary, both the one and the other eventuality has to be considered as quite impossible.

CONSTANTIN FRANTZ. 1899. Bibl. IX, 38, Vol. 1, pp. 78 ff.

... If one wants the military power of the new German empire to have a real and lasting effect and entail a salutary transformation in the organisation of Europe, it must drive Russia back to the frontiers which she has already overpassed to Germany's great detriment, thus becoming a menace to all Western civilisation. But then the question would at once arise of knowing what is to happen to the countries which Russia would be forced to hand over to us.

Primarily in the North-east: it is there principally that we would need to direct our attack, for there, since the days of Peter the Great, is the centre of the Russian power; therefore the first question to be raised would be that of Poland.

CONSTANTIN FRANTZ. 1899. Bibl., *ibid.*, pp. 245 ff.

THE interests of Russian and German imperialism have continually clashed during the last ten years, and more than once Russia has had to beat a retreat before Germany's threats.

PAUL LENSCH. 1916. Bibl. V, 99, p. 35.

As I see things, our future policy should be directed to a rapprochement not with the Western Powers, but with Russia. Such a rapprochement appears to me to be both possible and desirable in our interests.

GERHARD ANSCHÜTZ. 1917. Bibl. VIII, D. 3, p. 22.

THE signing of the Treaty of Berlin between the Reich and Russia has greatly disturbed the world.¹ Without any justification. It is a treaty between two great neighbouring Powers and nations, with the

¹ German edition, Vol. II, pp. 539-40. Not published at all in the English edition; slightly shortened in the French translation.

object of maintaining friendly relations between them, by promising mutual peace and friendship and that they will abstain from going to the aid of any third Power which may attack either the one or the other. This treaty has nothing sensational in it, on the contrary, it is quite natural (*selbstverständlich*). An age-old friendship unites our two countries. From Frederick the Great down to the Great War they had never taken up arms against each other. Economically they were bound together. Germany could not live without Russia's agricultural products, and Russia could not do without our industry. Bismarck's policy aimed at maintaining peace and friendship with Russia. The breaking of this tradition by Russia at the moment of emphasis on Panslavism was very painful to us. By the Treaty of Rapallo Germany and Russia declared that despite the shock of the Great War they wished to re-establish their good relations on their former basis. This shows how strong the tradition of our mutual relations still was. This tradition was renewed, despite Russia's internal political convulsion which brought about a State organisation diametrically opposed to our own.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Speech broadcast on
1 May 1926. Bibl. V, 200, Vol. 2,
pp. 379-80.

TEXT OF THE TREATY CONCLUDED ON 24 APRIL 1926 BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS

THE German Government and the Government of the U.S.S.R., guided by the desire to do all they can to contribute to the maintenance of general peace and convinced that the interest of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. (and of the peoples of Germany) demands conscientious and constant collaboration, have come to an agreement to confirm the friendly relations existing between them, and to this end have named two plenipotentiaries: for the German Government, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Gustav Stresemann, and for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics the Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the U.S.S.R., Nicholas Nicolaievich Krestinsky, who, having exchanged their powers, and having found them in good and due form, have decided upon the following provisions:

Article 1. The Treaty of Rapallo remains the basis of relations between Germany and the U.S.S.R. The German Government and the Government of the U.S.S.R. remain in friendly contact in

order to settle amicably all questions of a political and economic nature concerning their two countries.

Article 2. If one of the contracting parties, despite its pacific attitude, should be attacked by a third power or by several third powers, the other contracting party shall observe neutrality during the period of the conflict.

Article 3. If, on the occasion of a conflict of the nature foreshadowed in article 2, and at a moment in which either of the two contracting parties is not implicated in an armed conflict, a coalition should be formed by third powers with a view to imposing an economic and financial boycott on one of the two contracting parties, the other contracting party will not participate in such a coalition.

BERLIN, 24 April 1926. (L.S.) (STRESEMANN) (L.S.) (KRESTINSKY)

TEXT OF THE NON-AGGRESSION PACT CONCLUDED ON 23 AUGUST 1939
BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS

The Government of the German Reich and the Government of the U.S.S.R., guided by the desire to strengthen the cause of peace between Germany and the U.S.S.R., and taking as a basis the fundamental regulations of the Neutrality Agreement concluded in April 1926 between Germany and the U.S.S.R., have reached the following agreement:

Article 1. The two Contracting Parties bind themselves to refrain from any act of force; any aggressive action and any attack on each other, both singly and also jointly with other Powers.

Article 2. In the event of one of the Contracting Parties becoming the object of warlike action on the part of a third Power, the other Contracting Party shall in no manner support this third Power.

Article 3. The Governments of the two Contracting Parties shall in future remain continuously in touch with each other, by way of consultation, in order to inform each other on questions touching their joint interests.

Article 4. Neither of the two Contracting Parties shall participate in any grouping of Powers which is directed directly or indirectly against the other Party.

Moscow, 23 August 1939. (L.S.) (RIBBENTROP) (L.S.) (MOLOTOV)

FROM the purely military viewpoint a Russo-German coalition waging war against Western Europe, and probably against the whole world on that account, would be catastrophic for us.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 537.

THEREFORE the fact of forming an alliance with Russia would be the signal for a new war. And the result of that would be the end of Germany.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 538.

IT must never be forgotten that the present rulers of Russia are blood-stained criminals, that here we have the dregs of humanity which, favoured by the circumstances of a tragic moment, overran a great State, degraded and extirpated millions of educated people out of sheer blood-lust, and that now for nearly ten years they have ruled with such a savage tyranny as was never known before. It must not be forgotten that these rulers belong to a people in whom the most bestial cruelty is allied with a capacity for artful mendacity and which believes itself to-day more than ever called to impose its sanguinary despotism on the rest of the world. It must not be forgotten that the international Jew, who is to-day the absolute master of Russia, does not look upon Germany as an ally but as a State condemned to the same doom as Russia. One does not form an alliance with a partner whose only aim is the destruction of his fellow-partner. Above all, one does not enter into alliances with people for whom no treaty is sacred; because they do not move about this earth as men of honour and sincerity but as the representatives of lies and deception, thievery and plunder and robbery. The man who thinks that he can bind himself by treaty with parasites is like the tree that believes it can form a profitable bargain with the ivy that surrounds it.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 538.

How can we release our people from this poisonous grip if we accept the same grip ourselves? How can we teach the German worker that Bolshevism is an infamous crime against humanity if we ally ourselves with this infernal abortion and recognise its existence as legitimate? With what right shall we condemn the members of the broad masses whose sympathies lie with a certain *Weltanschauung* if the rulers of our State choose the representatives of that *Weltanschauung* as their allies?

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 539.

A NATIONALISTIC Germany, under determined and clear-sighted leadership, would be in a position to enter into an alliance even with the devil, although only for a limited period, and in that case alone would it be possible at least to consider a political arrangement with Soviet Russia.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, *Völkischer Beobachter*,
18 April 1926.

RUSSIA above all else pursues its aim of world revolution. She must consider the representatives of the capitalist Great Powers (France, Britain and, behind them, America) as the principal obstacles in the path of this project. There arises from this a certain community of interests between Russia and Germany, which threaten the claims of these Powers. The Power for which Russia has the greatest aversion is Poland, ally of the Western Powers and immediate neighbour of Russia. It is from this point of view that a rapprochement with Germany imposes itself most imperatively.

GENERAL VON SEECKT. 1931. Bibl. VI, 47A, p. 14.

... It is remarkable, when you come to think of it, that the fundamental aims of Russian foreign policy are the same to-day as of old. They are being pursued even more ruthlessly by the new rulers than by pre-War Russia. ... The idea of world revolution is ... in the service of (now red) Russian Imperialism.

Westfälische Landeszeitung, 30 May 1936.

... I am particularly happy to be able to tell you of one event. You know that Russia and Germany are governed by two different doctrines. There was only one question that had to be cleared up. Germany has no intention of exporting its doctrine. Given the fact that Soviet Russia has no intention of exporting its doctrine to Germany, I no longer see any reason why we should still oppose one another. On both sides we are clear on that. Any struggle between our peoples would be of advantage only to others. We have, therefore, resolved to conclude a pact which rules out for ever any use of violence between us. It imposes the obligation on us to consult together in certain European questions. It makes possible for us economic co-operation, and above all it assures that the powers of these powerful States are not wasted against one another. Every attempt of the West to bring about any change in this will fail.

At the same time I should like here to declare that this political decision means a tremendous departure for the future, and that it is a final one. Russia and Germany fought against one another in the World War. That shall and will not happen a second time. In Moscow, too, this pact was greeted exactly as you greet it. I can only endorse word for word the speech of the Russian Foreign Commissar, Molotov. . . .

ADOLF HITLER, Speech to the Reichstag on
1 Sept. 1939. Cf. *British Blue Book*,
1939, p. 164.

RECOGNITION of the usefulness of an agreement between the two States is to-day clear to the statesmen of both countries. They have grown wise, they have both learned from history. In face of this recognition cleverer diplomacy than that which Great Britain possesses to-day would fail.

Frankfurter Zeitung, 15 Oct. 1940.

. . . In a terrible struggle, the Russian people rose and freed themselves from the clique . . . of power-thirsty magnates of finance, trade, raw materials and industry . . . and their English and French friends. The Italians, and finally the German people, followed their example.

Broadcast from Germany, 10 Dec. 1940.

Section 8

POLAND

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Germany's relations with Poland have always been characterised by a profound hatred. For a thousand years Germany's Drang nach Osten has come up against the Polish nation, which has never had any desire voluntarily to renounce the lands of its forefathers. So Germany long since reached the conclusion that either the Drang nach Osten would have to be given up, or the Polish nation would have to be exterminated.

History records only two periods of Polish-German rapprochement, but in both cases Germany's attitude was insincere, and indicated only a pause in the German struggle against Poland. The first instance occurred at the end of the eighteenth century, when Prussia concluded an alliance with Poland, but shortly after, with this trump in her hand, reached an understanding with Russia in regard to the second, and then the third and final Partition of Poland. The second instance was in 1934, when Hitler concluded a ten-year Pact of Non-Aggression with Poland and was by no means niggardly with his protestations of friendship, and then, having realised his plans in other directions, attacked Poland in 1939, after assuring Russia a share in the spoils by a Treaty of 28 September 1939.

. . . Poland failed to recognise that her duty as a nation was above all to defend her maritime frontiers and to chase the Teutonic Knights from those frontiers.

This negligence was the death of Poland.

When in the eighteenth century Prussia and Russia took complete possession of Poland's maritime sphere—for geographically the north of the Black Sea belongs for the most part to Russia—by so doing they were as good as saying that Poland no longer existed; without a sea, surrounded by powerful neighbours, having no superior instrument of culture, having no frontier secured by nature to protect her, it was impossible for her ever to become anything; she had to disappear sooner or later.

ERNST MORITZ ARNDT. 1803. Bibl. VIII, B. 1,
pp. 329-30.

WE must demand that the members elected by the Polish nation to the German Parliament shall have only the right to speak, but not to vote, and that they may demand to be heard only on questions concerning the Poles or districts inhabited by them. If it should be found that this provision is being evaded by their co-operation with one of the other Parliamentary parties, the right to vote and the right to be elected should be definitely taken from the Poles. Polish newspapers and periodicals should in all circumstances give a German translation of the Polish text, and the only language permissible at Polish public meetings should be German. . . .

DANIEL FRYMANN (HEINRICH CLASS). 1911. Bibl. V, 20.

. . . Polish affairs have frequently led to a rapprochement between Prussia and Russia. The territorial situation arising from the Polish partitions constituted a warning to both countries to avoid a split, and to regard joint defence against aspirations for a Greater Poland as a bridge over which Prussia and Russia could meet again and again.

ERNST VON BÜLOW. 1916. Bibl. IX, 17.

GERMANY and Poland cannot exist at the same time. Poland needs the East Elbian space to breathe freely, and Germany needs the Polish space both as a connecting channel for her surplus population, and for the sake of Prussian order.

FRIEDRICH HIELSCHER. Bibl. I, 30, pp. 667-8.

ONE way or another, Poland will emerge from the customs war wounded to death. By losing her blood she will lose her strength and, with it, her independence. . . . And thus, some years later, in agreement with Russia, we shall administer the *coup de grâce*.

Frankfurter Zeitung,¹ 14 June 1926.

MAN is not equal to man, action is not equal to action. Five Germans are to be shot because a Pole, who was also a Bolshevik, has been slain. Justice of this kind defies the nation's most elementary instinct of self-preservation. National Socialism, however, knows no equality between souls, no equality between men, no "right" in itself, no object except a German nation of strong men.²

ALFRED ROSENBERG. 1931. Bibl. I, 30, p. 295.

As there are no "equal rights" among individuals, so it is true that neither are there any "equal rights" among nations. Nations vary in character, and therefore also in ability and qualifications. . . . For no philosophy can alter the plain fact that important achievements and important men are worth more than lesser achievements and men of lesser significance. . . . The Polish nation is not equal in value to the German nation merely because it is also a nation. . . . We do not demand "equal rights" for Germany as we are not ourselves disposed to grant equal rights to others. We Germans are not on a level with other nations, nay, we have a right which cannot be compared with that of anybody else.

WILHELM STAPEL. 1932. Bibl. V, 184 (cf. Bibl. I, 30, pp. 55-6).

WHAT is lost must not be lost for ever. . . . For every inch of stolen soil, Poland will fight tooth and nail. . . . With the re-establishment of Poland, their most dangerous enemy in all history has arisen for the German people. . . . A Polish-German evolution against Soviet Russia can be urged only by fools. Let us have our labour problems arranged in the sense of German Socialism, and the reddest Soviet Russia will be no danger at all to us in comparison with the Polish danger. Once Russia has no longer political allies inside Germany, she may very well be the proper ally for us against Poland.

. . . We know that in the East the decision as to our people's country space and future—will be forced by blood and iron alone . . .

¹ Organ of German democratic and liberal finance.

² Rosenberg refers here to the trial of five Germans accused of murdering a German citizen of Polish descent (in German Upper Silesia).

either we shall stand firm on the Vistula, or some day soldierly, hard, fanatical Poland will stand on the Oder.

JOHANN VON LEERS. 1932. Bibl. VIII, D. 121
(cf. Bibl. I, 30, pp. 666-7).

THE Polish Government and the German Government consider that the time has come to introduce a new phase in the political relations between Germany and Poland by a direct understanding between State and State. They have, therefore, decided to lay down in the present Declaration the principles for the future development of these relations.

The two Governments base their action on the fact that the maintenance and guarantee of a lasting peace between their countries is an essential prerequisite for the general peace of Europe.

German-Polish Declaration on Mutual Non-Aggression, 26 January 1934. *Polish White Book*, 1904, p. 20.

FOR his part the Chancellor defined his own attitude, doing so with great precision. He formulated the following points:

1. There would be no changes in the legal and political position in Danzig (*an der rechts politischen Lage Danzigs wird nichts geändert werden*).

2. The rights of the Polish population in Danzig would be respected.

3. The rights of Poland in Danzig would not be impaired.

The Chancellor declared emphatically that his Agreement with Poland would be respected also so far as Danzig was concerned. Any word he gave was and would be kept. A surprise step was out of the question. The Chancellor's only desire was that the German population of Danzig should choose its own form of Government, most appropriate to Germans. Such a solution would be the best guarantee against possible complications, for then incidents would not be created by particular political parties. The Chancellor asked me to communicate the above statement to my Government.

Polish Ambassador in Berlin to Polish Ministry
for Foreign Affairs, Berlin, 5 Nov. 1937.
Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 41.

WE are convinced that this agreement (with Poland) will bring lasting peace. We understand that our two nations must live beside one

another, that one of them cannot do away with the other. A state of thirty-three million people will always need access to the sea. ·

ADOLF HITLER, Mass Meeting in Sports Palace,
Berlin, 26 June 1938.

THESE weeks we are celebrating the fifth anniversary of the conclusion of the non-aggression pact with Poland. Between them and us peace and understanding shall reign.

ADOLF HITLER, in the Reichstag, 30 Jan. 1939.

Section 9

THE JEWS

THROUGHOUT almost all the countries of Europe lives, widely diffused, a powerful and inimical nation, in perpetual war with all the others, and one which in certain States harshly oppresses the other citizens. I mean the Jewish nation. I do not believe (and I hope to prove this) that this nation is redoubtable because of the fact that it forms an isolated and strongly unified State, but rather because this State is founded on hatred of all the human species. Here is a people the most insignificant individual of which can trace the line of his ancestors as far back as an epoch anterior to the origins of our history, and who recognises as the founder of his race an emir more remote than our earliest ancestors—a legend which we ourselves have classed among our own articles of belief. In all peoples this people sees the descendants of those who chased them out of a passionately loved country; they have condemned themselves, and they are in fact condemned to live by a petty trading which enervates the body and kills all capacity for noble sentiments; by the most binding law known to humanity, by religion, this people is excluded from our joys, from our festivals, from the pleasant and cordial exchanges of our gaiety; even in duties and in rights, and even in the bosom of the Eternal Father it holds us separate from them; from such a people what could one expect, other than that which we see? In a State where the absolute monarch has not the right to deprive me of the cottage of my forefathers, and where I can make my right prevail against an all-powerful minister, the first Jew who comes along is free to pilfer from me with impunity, if it pleases him.

You are all witnesses of this; you cannot deny it and you utter smooth words of tolerance, the 'rights of the man and the citizen', while in us you wrong the primordial rights of man; you can never show enough charity and support for those who do not believe in Jesus Christ and whom you load with titles, with dignities and honours, while you publicly wrong those whose crime is belief in Jesus Christ otherwise than as you believe in him, and you snatch from them, together with their civil dignities, the bread which they have honourably earned.

JOHANN GOTTLIEB FICHTE. Bibl. VIII, A. 14,
Vol. vi, p. 149 (publ. 1835).

THE Jews as Jews do not fit into this world and into these States, and for that reason I do not want them to multiply unduly in Germany. . . .

. . . Impatient of all trouble and hard work, a Jew will rather starve and knock about in the uncertain hope of the booty of the moment than earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. Unstable in intellect and instinct, peregrinating, lying in wait, cunning, criminal and servile, he will tolerate any abuse, any misery, rather than engage in steady hard work, ploughing a furrow, felling timber, breaking stones, or sweating in a steady workshop. Like flies and gnats and other vermin, he flutters about lying in wait and swooping always on easy and transitory profit. . . .

ERNST MORITZ VON ARNDT. 1803. Bibl. VIII, B. 2A.

THE Jews have preserved their peculiar character to this day. Their principle, their God, is the most practical principle in the world—selfishness; selfishness in the form of a religion.

LUDWIG FEUERBACH.¹ 1841. Bibl. VIII, A. 13,
pp. 163 ff.

IN the lands irrigated by the Vistula and the Danube and which are of interest to us, there are some two million Jews who, for that matter, would be ready to be Germanised still more than they are already, but whom none the less we could not tolerate in those lands.

PAUL DE LAGARDE. 1853. Bibl. V, 97, p. 33.

WE Europeans, we Christians, are not what we ought to be so long as there are still Jews among us.

PAUL DE LAGARDE. 1853. Bibl. V, 97 (cf. IX, 106,
p. 17).

ON the basis of equality it is impossible to live with the Jews, because this tribe stands by nature on an unequal level, a much lower level, as regards talent and morality.

EUGEN DÜHRING.² 1892. *Die Judenfrage als Frage der Rassenschändlichkeit*. Bibl., VIII, D. 50.

THE Jews are the most evil expression of the Semitic race in the form of a nationality that is particularly dangerous to other nations.

¹ Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872), philosopher; lecturer at Erlangen University.

² Karl Eugen Dühring (1833–1901), philosopher and economist; a violent opponent of Jewry and of Christendom, since the latter was 'derived from Jewry'. Was opposed to socialism in the realm of political economy, and was an opponent of Marx.

THE JEWS

... Hence there would still be a Jewish question even if all Jews turned their back on their own religion and went over to one of the dominant Churches. ...

EUGEN DÜHRING. 1892. Bibl., *ibid*.

IN fact, the organisation of the war of oppression and exploitation which the Jews have been waging against other nations for thousands of years, has progressed far in our time. ... The Jewish religion is a racial religion, just as Jewish morality is a racial morality. The religious bodies of the Jews are political bodies.

EUGEN DÜHRING. Bibl., *ibid*.

WE cannot imagine a Jew representing on the stage any ancient or modern character, whether hero or lover, without involuntarily sensing the ridiculous ineptness of such a representation.

RICHARD WAGNER.¹ 1872. Bibl. X, 6, p. 89.

JEWS should be excluded from all public employments in the gift of the Empire, the separate states and the local authorities, whether such employment be salaried or purely honorary and gratuitous. Jews should not be admitted to serve in the Army and Navy. Jews should neither vote nor be elected. They should be excluded from the profession of the law, and they should not teach in schools. They should not manage theatres. Newspapers which have Jews for contributors should clearly state that fact. The other newspapers, which one may call all-German newspapers, should neither be owned by Jews nor have Jewish managers, editors or journalists. Banks should not be conducted by Jews, unless they are private banks. Landed property should neither be owned by Jews nor mortgaged to them. In consideration for the protection which Jews enjoy as aliens they should have to pay double taxes.

DANIEL FRYMANN (H. CLASS).² 1914 (5th ed.). Bibl. V, 20.

THE question at once arises: Who is a Jew? We must differentiate between race and faith. Jews are a race, and those who have changed their faith are Jews still. We must further re-establish the old Germanic principle that in the case of marriages between Jews and Christians the descendants belong to the inferior race. Therefore it

¹ Richard Wagner (1813-1883), German operatic composer and writer; composer of *Lohengrin*, *Tannhäuser*, the *Ring* cycle, *Parsifal*, etc.

² See footnote, p. 26.

should be laid down that all those are Jews who belonged to the Jewish faith on 18 January 1871, or who are descendants of those who were Jews at that date, even if only one of the parents was a Jew.

DANIEL FRYMANN. Bibl., *ibid*.

It is absolutely necessary that the frontiers should be completely closed against the immigration of Jews. It is equally indispensable that foreign Jews who have not yet acquired citizen rights should be expelled without delay or consideration. However hard it may seem to the German sense of justice, we must restrict the rights of resident Jews. The good may suffer together with the bad, but necessity must steel our hearts to pity. We must demand that all Jews in Germany be placed under alien law.

DANIEL FRYMANN. 1914 (5th ed.). Bibl., *ibid*.

AND, indeed, the *Old Testament*, the *Talmud* and the *Shulchan Aruch*, those Jewish religious books which in reality contain only laws and long-term political schemes, already contain all the germ-ideas of the Bolshevik ideology that is at present venting itself on 170 million people.

HANS HAUPTMANN. 1937. Bibl. IX, 59, p. 11.

He [the Jew] is and remains a parasite, a sponger who, like a pernicious bacillus, spreads over wider and wider areas according as some favourable area attracts him. The effect produced by his presence is also like that of the vampire; for wherever he establishes himself the people who grant him hospitality are bound to be bled to death sooner or later.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 255.

THE contemporary democratic parliamentary system means the domination of those who are inferior, of those who are of the lower races, of money and of Jews. . . .

ALFRED ROSENBERG, Speech on 19 Aug. 1927.
Bibl. I, 43, p. 55.

Our hatred of Jews is no passing fancy, but rather the logical consequence of our love for the German people. The Jews brought international capitalism, which recklessly threw chains of slavery around Germany, and they also brought Marxism. . . . Germans have a gigantic fight against Marxism, and especially against Communism.

JOSEPH GOEBBELS. Bibl. I, 43, p. 315.

THE JEWS

THE constant and everlasting watchword of our movement is: the fight against every force that would destroy our right to live, that comes among us to take our people out of their path; an unending fight against the Jews, and in this fight it makes no difference to us whether the eternal Jew runs about in the red rags of the Bolshevik or in the black clothes of the Ultramontane.

ADOLF WAGNER,¹ Speech to the Munich NSDAP,
Oct. 1936. Bibl. I, 12A, p. 276.

So stand the storm battalions
Ready for racial fight.
Only when Jews lie bleeding
Can we be really free.

National-Socialist Little Song Book. Bibl. I, 36,
p. 173.

I BELIEVE that I am acting on the order of the Almighty Creator: by fighting the Jew I am fighting for the work of our Lord.

ADOLF HITLER. Bibl. I, 48, p. 102.

IN a Germany organised in accordance with the national idea, the relationship between the Jews and the Germans is that between a guest people and a host people. . . .

[This conception] . . . implies the general principle that the guest should have comfort in the house, but that the furnishing and management of the house are a matter for the host. In practice this means that all non-German groups of people are on principle excluded from the organisation of the State itself and from the political functions therein.

OTTO STRASSER. 1936 (2nd ed.). Bibl. V, 194, p. 78.

¹ Adolf Wagner (1890-), mining engineer and politician; director of mining companies, 1919-29; publisher; member of Bavarian Diet as National Socialist; Minister of Interior and Vice-Premier for Bavaria 1933; Leader of the Munich-Upper Bavaria district of National-Socialist Party.

Section 10
THE JAPANESE

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The German nation, drunk with its prejudices as to the superiority of the Nordic race, is even more contemptuous of the Japanese, since in this case the race is not even white, but yellow. Wilhelm II himself did not trouble to conceal his aversion from the Japanese, and he was notorious for his attempts to mobilise Europe in a struggle against the 'Yellow Peril'.

The same contemptuous appraisal of the Japanese as a non-creative race is found in the expressed opinions of the present leader of the German nation. He did not, however, let them hinder his forming an alliance with Japan.

HE who considers the Japanese as the Allies of to-morrow has no sense of biological differences. He is unable to realise the distinction between historical epochs, he confuses civilisation and culture, and is as deceived as the man who attaches more importance to environment than to race.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl. VIII,
B. 81, p. 304.

YET, when we compare ourselves with other nations, the comparison is always in our favour. We cultivate a noble policy of peace, the others a policy of greed, revengefulness and intrigue, right down to the naked shamelessness of Japan.

PASTOR G. TOLZIEN. 1915. Bibl. VII, 22 (cf. I, 6,
p. 144).

IF, from to-day onwards, the Aryan influence on Japan were to cease—and if we suppose that Europe and America should collapse—then the present progress of Japan in science and technique might still last for a short while; but within a few decades the inspiration would dry up, and native Japanese character would triumph, while the present civilisation would become fossilised and fall back into the sleep from which it was aroused about seventy years ago, by the impact of Aryan culture. We may therefore draw the conclusion that, just as the present Japanese development has been due to Aryan influence, so in the immemorial past an outside influence and an outside culture brought into existence the Japanese culture of that day. This opinion is very strongly supported by the fact that the ancient civilisation of Japan actually became fossilised and petrified. Such a process of senility can happen only if a people loses the racial cell which originally had been creative or if the outside influence should be withdrawn after having awakened and maintained the first cultural developments in that region.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 244.

WOULD an alliance with Japan benefit Germany? In certain questions, as, for example, the Russian question, no doubt. But in the great questions of existence, definitely No. Although Japan's industrial expansion to-day hits in the main the others, it is only the beginning. It is bound to grow, and then endanger German industry just as much as the other industries. . . . Strong as Japan seems to be, she is weak at the same time. In the collapse of the Austro-

Hungarian Empire, the suppressed nationalities, Czechs, Poles, and Serbs, alone led to catastrophe. Japan faces exactly the same danger. Sixty-five million Japanese have suppressed fifty-five millions of Koreans and Manchurians. . . .

Every loss of position by England and America is a white loss, an Aryan loss. Japan will not be able to distinguish between friend and foe, she will want to destroy all industrial States. She will have to destroy them in order to carry on her quixotic struggle against Russia and China and all the other nations of the Indonesian *Lebensraum*. . . . One thing remains: for the white industrial States, Japan is an enemy and, strange as it may sound, through her world-wide industrial expansion, Japan is becoming more and more also a spiritual enemy.

ANTON ZISCHKA, *Japan in der Welt*, Leipzig,
1936, pp. 347, 356-7, 316, 333.

FIELD-MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG (1847-1934)

The link between the Hohenzollern Reich, the Republic of Weimar, and the Third Reich

Hindenburg and
Stresemann, the
two most promi-
nent men of the
democratic Wei-
mar Republic



Hindenburg, Chief
of General Staff
during the last War
(with the *Kaiser* and
General Ludendorff)



Hindenburg the
shadow of his
successor, Reich
Chancellor Adolf
Hitler

January 1933. Hin-
denburg is seen
greeting the coming
man, Adolf Hitler,
in his family estate,
Neudeck (Eastern
Prussia)



Hindenburg, President of the
Weimar Republic

CHAPTER IV

GERMAN AIMS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
AND IN WAR

CHAPTER IV—CONTENTS

Section

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Section I

GERMANY'S "NATURAL" FRONTIERS. LEBENSRAUM. CONTINENTAL AND COLONIAL PROGRAMME OF GERMANY. "MITTELEUROPA" AND "WELTRAUM"

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

A characteristic feature of German imperialism is that it has no definite, fixed direction, but covets everything it sees. A glance through the German literature of the past 150 years or so reveals that German authors claim as part of the German Lebensraum all the countries of the European continent, including of course Russia, as well as the Near East, Africa, and even Latin America. Correlating the various German imperialistic schemes, we find that there is hardly a country in all the world which that imperialism does not threaten in its independence and vital interests. Not only France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries, not only the smaller States of Central and Balkan Europe, not only Russia, but Great Britain and the United States also would have to be sacrificed to insatiable German imperialism, if it could pass from words to their realisation. Two attempts at that realisation, in 1914 and to-day, imperatively require that those words should not be frivolously disregarded. They are words which give birth to deeds.

If it ever seemed to people of good will that German imperialism could be held in check by temporary concessions, the quotations given in this section will perhaps show that it could be satisfied and held in check in one way alone—by handing the whole world over to the Nation of 'Rulers'. The reality of the threat which German imperialism presents even to the Western hemisphere was pointed out by President Roosevelt in a memorable speech on 29 December 1940, when he said:

"Germany said that she was occupying Belgium to save the Belgians from the British. Would she then hesitate to say to any South American country, 'We are occupying you to protect you from aggression by the United States'?"

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

"Belgium to-day is being used as an invasion base against Britain, now fighting for its life. And any South American country in Nazi hands would constitute a jumping-off place for German attacks on any one of the other republics of this hemisphere.

"Analyse for yourselves the future of two other places, even nearer to Germany. If the Nazis win, could Ireland hold out, would Irish freedom be permitted as an amazing exception in a world not free? Would the islands of the Azores still fly the flag of Portugal, after five centuries?

"You and I think of Hawaii as an outpost of defence in the Pacific. Yet the Azores are closer to our shores in the Atlantic than Hawaii is on the other side.

"There are those who say that the Axis Powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. That is the same dangerous form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples.

"The plain facts are that the Nazis have proclaimed time and again that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. Most important of all, the vast resources and wealth of this American hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all the wide world.

"Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many others are already within our own gates."

CONSIDERING Germany for a moment as a unity, as she certainly would have become on the lines of France and Britain, but that it was not allowed her,—what are her natural frontiers?

On the South, the Alps and the northern angle of the Adriatic. From the geographical and linguistic aspect, almost all the Swiss would fall within these limits.

On the West: the Sea of the French and Batavian Low Countries; from the sixteenth century onward this frontier was violated.

Germany has moreover the right to insist upon the North Sea. By its situation, all the South of Germany is in effect bound to face towards that sea, along the course of the Rhine, in order to accumulate wealth and culture.

On the North Germany's legitimate frontier is the Eider and the Baltic. On the East, the present political frontier is also the geographical frontier, since, by a happy chance, it agrees almost completely with the linguistic frontier.

ERNST MORITZ VON ARNDT. 1803. *Bibl. VIII, B. 1, p. 411.*

. . . Then let us declare a swift and merciless war on France, let our powerful efforts sweep rapidly to the other side of the Rhine, and let us not sheathe the sword until we have emancipated all the people of Germanic tongue, both those who inhabit Lorraine and Alsace and those of Luxembourg and Flanders, and have brought them back into the German Empire. That is the task and that is the aim. And if they are not delivered, if each one's efforts do not tend towards realising this task, one might as well undertake nothing. In vain will God have offered the Germans treasures, he will take them back if they are too lazy to enjoy them.

ERNST MORITZ VON ARNDT. 1806. *Bibl. VIII, B. 2, Vol. iii, p. 215.*

. . . Following from these considerations, I in no way recognise the Rhine as the natural frontier between France and Germany. The left bank of the Rhine as far as the Meuse belongs entirely to the core of the German military forces, the efficacy of which must predominate over those that France can oppose to them, on the sole condition of assuming that Germany constitutes a State, or at the least is constituted of closely united elements. The French territory between the Meuse and the sea is too narrow for the French to be able to assemble as many military elements there as the Germans, who have their entire

country behind them. The German lines of operation are all rectilinear, and therefore shorter than those of the French. The latter must first make a strategic wheel to the right in Belgium, in order to establish their front facing the Meuse, for which reason they are unable to bring up their military elements directly behind them. For certainly, in their position facing the Meuse, the French cannot draw any advantage from their right flank, because of the nature of the country. The pressure of the military forces diminishes with the length of the lines of operation, consequently here the Germans, with their shorter lines of operation, have the advantage.

DIETRICH VON BÜLOW. *Bibl. VI, 10, p. 333*
(ed. 1853).

LET us not forget the civilising task which is incumbent upon us by the terms of the decrees of Providence. Just as Prussia has been fated to be the core of Germany, so Germany regenerated will be the core of the future empire of the West.

And finally, that no one may be ignorant of it, we proclaim henceforth that our continental nation has a right to the sea, not only to the North Sea, but also to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Therefore we shall absorb, one after another, all the provinces which border on Prussia, we shall successively annex Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Franche-Comté, the North of Switzerland, Livonia, then Trieste and Venice; finally, the north of the Gallic region, from the Somme to the Loire.

GENERAL KARL VON CLAUSEWITZ.¹ *Bibl. I,*
39 (a), pp. 92-3.

. . . What a prodigious flood of power Germany of the South-West allows to flow down to the Ocean! How much that flood could produce if it were directed towards the channel of the Danube! Nothing less than the foundation of a powerful eastern German-Magyar Empire, bathed on the one hand by the Black Sea, on the other by the Adriatic Sea, and animated by the German and Hungarian spirit. If the Sublime Porte must one day fall, and she will fall as surely as the withered leaves fall in autumn, to whom will nature recognise the right to this share of its succession? To the Italians? They have never yet founded any colony! To the French? Every-

¹ Karl von Clausewitz (1780-1831), Prussian general and strategist; was in the Prussian Ministry of War, and on the General Staff; in 1812 accepted service with Russia; in 1814 returned to the Prussian Army. Left ten volumes of works on war and the conduct of war.

where they have begun their colonisation only to expose their complete incapacity for all the world to see. To the Russians? They have already more land of their own to colonise and civilise throughout the centuries than they would ever be capable of managing. To whom, then, if not to the Hungarians allied with the Germans?

FRIEDRICH LIST. 1842. Bibl. VIII, D. 131, Vol. 2,
p. 209.

. . . But why turn one's eyes to lands overseas, when on our south-eastern frontier we find immense stretches of country towards which we could easily direct our surplus population, with the aid of one of our own rivers which is navigable along almost all its course through Germany? By means of this river we could enter into beneficial commercial relations with those areas. In any case, the railway running there goes through Hungary, and so long as Hungary is not one body and one soul with Germany, there will be nothing durable for us to create, neither there nor beyond; on the other hand, with Hungary's agreement all would be possible to us. For Germany Hungary is the key to Turkey, to all the Levant and the Orient; at the same time it is a bulwark against too great a northern Power. A free Magyar kingdom, populated, rich, liberal and powerful, will not only be capable of opening up those countries to German culture and German commerce, but will also be compelled, by the very nature of things, to swear an eternal fraternity with us!

FRIEDRICH LIST. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 240.

INDIGNATION has been expressed abroad at my treating Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Denmark as appendages to Germany. . . . In the third and fourth volume I treat Germany as a physical entity. Now, can anybody seriously deny that these four States, parts of Switzerland excepted, lie within the physical frontiers of Germany? And can anybody seriously deny that the historical justification for their attachment to Germany is as strong as is the geographical justification? Switzerland and Holland belonged to Germany till 1648, and Belgium till 1801, while Denmark was at one time a part of the Holy Roman Empire.

PROF. DANIEL. 1867. Bibl. VIII, E. 4.

IN view of French arrogance it must always be asserted that we Germans possess historically justified claims to the territories of the Rhone. At any rate, we must not be more unhistorical than are the

French themselves. Therefore to the French names we add the German ones.

PROF. DANIEL. Bibl., *ibid.*

... Is there one German soul which is not possessed with melancholy at the sight of the dreary theories of our compatriots who travel with wife, children, and all their belongings to seek a country across the ocean? Wallachia is a country which could receive them all and which could be reached by the poorest among them in a few days, with little expense, by the route now practicable along the Danube. There they would find an extremely fertile country, with forests, rippling streams, mountains, or the plains of their own country. There they would find a Christian Government and a nascent civilisation which would be far more advanced if it had accorded the hospodars the heritage of their burden, that heritage which in full defeat the assassin of the Nile was able to extort for his own race.

FIELD-MARSHAL HELMUTH VON MOLTKE. Bibl., VII,
41, p. 307 (ed. 1881).

For the moment I give the name of Germany to the countries which are reunited in the Germanic Confederation, including nevertheless Hungary and Galicia, and of course excluding Venice and Lombardy. ...

The countries above-mentioned are inhabited by very different peoples.

It is true that what remains of the Germany of the Emperors contains non-German elements, Latins on the banks of the Rhine, Celts in Bavaria and, disseminated among the spas, Slavs in the Grand Palatinate, in certain parts of Thuringia, in the ancient Marches and in the adjacent provinces. But, in general, the population is Germanic and can normally be divided into five principal branches: Bavarians, Swabians, the Franconians of the Main, the Franconians of the Rhine, and the Saxons, with the two smaller branches of Frisians and Thuringians. On this point, I must say that the Saxons are neither the people of Meissen, nor the Lusatians who, without any right, to-day bear the ancient name of Saxons. One can hardly link up the Austrians and the inhabitants of the Tyrol with the Bavarian branch from which none the less they are descended, and the Styrians must be given a special place; in effect these two peoples would not re-enter the body of the Empire at the moment of its first formation, but they must be linked up with other German branches.

On one side are situated the fertile Slav territories of Mecklenburg, Brandenburg and Pomerania, territories colonised by the Saxons coming from the middle Weser, the ancient March and, in a single part of the Brandenburg March, by the Flemings; the Slav territories, Meissen, Lusatia and Silesia, peopled by Franconians having only a thin veneer of Germanism; Prussia, colonised by Germans from all the countries of Germany, but not Germanised in the least; Poznan, which little by little is becoming, if not German, at least Prussian.

Then come the non-Germanic countries of Austria, among which only Croatia and Serbia have any possibility of becoming an independent State, because they are inhabited by populations of a similar culture and are situated in proximity to other families closely related to them. But that can only happen after the fall of Turkey. For the union of Turkish Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Dalmatia, and the possibility of this territory having an outlet on two seas, could then assure it a durable material existence.

PAUL DE LAGARDE. 1853. Bibl. V, 97, p. 25.

. . . I repeat, the war will not in itself be a serious war, but it is in the interest of Germany to make it such, in order to obtain Alsace with an honest share of German Lorraine from France, Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark and England, and Poland from Russia, as a tribute of gratitude for the advantageous aid which we shall have furnished them.

PAUL DE LAGARDE. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 31.

It follows that Germany must strive to acquire frontiers which, from the strategic aspect, must be solid, that is to say, frontiers which, formed by mountains or equivalent obstacles, would extend as much as possible in a straight line.

In consequence, on the East, Russian Poland, including the country which, beyond the Vistula, stretches as far as the Pripyet marshes, and, on the West, Alsace and all Lorraine situated on the right of the Argonne, must one day return to Germany.

While national honour, apart from reasons of a military nature, commands this last annexation, the security of Germany absolutely demands the first. Moreover Russia, mistress in Poland, fearing with reason to see that country Germanised, restrains and obstructs Germany's relations with Poland as much as she can, so that East and West Prussia remain without appreciable commerce and, in consequence, without commercial routes. These provinces are therefore

GERMANY'S "NATURAL" FRONTIERS

destined to slow decay, if this state of affairs is not soon modified, for Danzig, Elbing and Königsberg have no significance apart from serving as entrepôts for the commercial exports and imports which Poland supplies, and not for those which Prussia supplies.

Germany must consult her own interests alone in the crisis which is about to supervene.

PAUL DE LAGARDE. 1853. Bibl., *ibid.*, pp. 31 ff.

CENTRAL EUROPE can be divided only into three groups bound indissolubly among themselves by an offensive and defensive alliance, by a common customs system, by a common organisation of colonisation and army. In this system, it is not the princes, it is a Parliament which will decide upon war and peace. The exercise of political eloquence will be forbidden.

1. The Northern group, Prussia, must include all the eastern part of true Prussia, plus Schleswig, Holstein, Mecklenburg, Anhalt, the province called the Royal Province of Saxony, and Russian Poland.

2. The South-Eastern group would comprise the territories of non-German Austria, shared among eight or nine small German dynasties, with the proviso that all government would be exercised only in the name of the Emperor.

3. Finally, there would be Germany, the Empire of the Saxon Emperor, with the addition of the purely German provinces of true Austria, shared by races which still exist to-day as they existed at the beginning of the Middle Ages, and to which it would be necessary to accord autonomy as far as possible, under the sceptre of the house of Lorraine.

PAUL DE LAGARDE. 1853. Bibl., *ibid.*, pp. 33 ff.

ONE can hardly conceive of commerce except on an open sea. That is why I mentioned Istria, as the possession of Trieste is a vital question for Germany. Even if all the Italians rushed as one man against us, this port must never fall into their hands.

PAUL DE LAGARDE. 1853. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 103.

IF you undertake to forge Scandinavia into one Reich, I will then unite Germany. We will make a Scandinavian-German League and will be strong enough to dominate the whole world. We have religion and culture in common, nor are the languages very dissimilar. But tell your countrymen that if they are not prepared to

enter into my plans, I may be obliged to cripple them, so that I do not have an enemy in my rear when I have to attack other points.

Letter of Prince Otto von Bismarck (1863) to
Baron Blixen, Prime Minister of Denmark.

... One thing alone can drive us, against our will, beyond these modest desires. If the next French attack against the German Empire found the Dutch among the enemy faction, at that exact moment Holland, by her senseless mistrust, would herself be precipitated into her ruin. Then, and only then, would it be necessary to attempt to put an end once for all to the millenary struggle over the ruins of ancient Lotharingia, and once more to compel the countries of the Lower Rhine perforce to rejoin the great people whom they abandoned long ago. Holland holds in her hands the means of averting, by a just and fearless policy, these interminable conflagrations. The majestic progress of German affairs, the unity of our Empire from the North Sea to Lake Constance, the complete organisation of this unity are not to be impeded by the outcries of small peoples who cannot forget the splendour of past days.

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE. 1869. Bibl. V, 202 (c)
(cf. I, 2 (a), p. 210).

THE Orient—Asia Minor is the only territory on the face of the globe which has not yet been seized by one of the nations seeking to uplift themselves; now, it is a splendid field for colonisation, and if Germany does not let slip the opportunity to possess it before the Cossacks stretch out their hands towards it, it will have gained the finest fate in the partitioning of the world; the colonisation of the Orient would, in effect, be profitable to every stratum and class of the German people. When some hundreds of thousands of armed German colonists are cultivating those magnificent countries the emperor of Germany will hold in his hand the destinies of Western Asia; he can and will be a treasury of peace for all Asia. There the merchant and industrialist will find a fertile field for their activity; it will offer the capitalist opportunities to make safe and advantageous financial investments; as to the disinherited who constitute the greatest proportion of the nation, but certainly not the worst part, they will be able with their ability, love of labour and spirit of enterprise, to become well-to-do agriculturists.

ALOYS SPRENGER. 1886. Bibl. VIII, C. 4, p. 280.

. . . I demand further: why do we still seek for transoceanic possessions which, after all, could not even be colonies, strictly speaking, in the sense that they would be purely commercial colonies, instead of turning our eyes towards our ancient and veritable colonies, which are right under our hand, but which we have lost, like Livonia, for example, or which we are threatened with losing, like all the settlements which Germany possesses in Hungary and Transylvania? If we could recover only Livonia to begin with, that would be worth more to us than a dozen Samoas. And if it is a question of supporting bases for our world commerce, nothing could be more essential than to win the mouths of our two principal rivers: the Rhine and the Danube. But so long as that seems to occupy us not at all, we must certainly abstain wholly and entirely from speaking of colonisation and world power.

Besides, the countries which are our neighbours on the east are far more important to us than transoceanic colonies would ever become. . . . It was towards these countries that German emigration was formerly directed, and this contributed essentially to the drive of the Hanse merchants, whose commerce gravitated above all around the Baltic. The maritime cities of this region, from Lübeck to Reval, were themselves German colonies; the towns situated behind them in the interior of the country were equally so for the most part.

CONSTANTIN FRANTZ. 1882. *Bibl.* IX, 37,
Vol. ii, pp. 92-9.

AMONG the provinces which should have been separated from France, after Alsace, Lorraine was without doubt of prime importance to us. We have in fact recovered a part. . . . But I appeal to your true sentiments: would not the impressions produced have been quite different if we had demanded all Lorraine, notably by invoking the reconstitution of our ancient right, rather than by taking only a part, basing ourselves on no real right whatever, but rather on our personal caprice, taking what we pleased?

. . . I have no desire to Germanise the least part of the Lorraine population, any more than I wish to qualify them as German. But I want the country to enter the German Confederation, while its inhabitants remain as foreign as they please. It is not to my mind to take the foreigners of Lorraine for Germans; they never have been, not even in the days when Lorraine belonged to the Empire. They are pure Lorrainers, and must not pass as anything else. I do

not want to see a policy of conquest pursued, but rather a policy of liberation; we shall make these provinces, of which we shall relieve France, into German provinces.

. . . Bound up with this are questions relating to the western territory, such as the future of Holland, of Belgium and Switzerland. These countries have indeed not been part of Germany for a long time now, none the less they are of especial importance to her, and while formerly they formed part of the empire, later they found in Germany a valuable protector of their independence. Besides, I believe that Germany would have a genuine interest in drawing these countries as much as possible into the German orbit, in the sense of regarding them as forming part of the Confederation.

CONSTANTIN FRANTZ. *Bibl. IX*, 38A, pp. 377 ff.

To return to strictly Prussian affairs, . . . supposing that the great conflict leads to a good result, then a partial modification of the eastern provinces would be equally indicated. Thus, in my view, all the territory gained along the Niemen should be reunited to East Prussia, and, solely by this step, a natural geographical aggregate would be constituted, on which Königsberg would be imposed, also quite naturally, as the capital. Then this province would become by far the most extensive of the Prussian provinces and, in certain regards also, the most important of all. What matters it that by the same stroke large numbers of foreign populations would be included? We already have there a large number of Masurians and Lithuanians who are nevertheless good Prussians.

CONSTANTIN FRANTZ. 1899. *Bibl. IX*, 38, pp. 137-8.

. . . But Germany must lay her strong and powerful hand on Asia Minor. Let us imagine for a little a German division of Pomeranians or Bavarians in that country; a just and energetic governor, almost after the style of the Statthalter (governor) of Alsace-Lorraine; let one imagine the German foresters methodically covering the mountain uplands with forests, and the German agriculturists, skilled and hardworking, showing the foreign people what is connoted by German diligent, thorough, sure and conscientious labour; let us picture the German schoolmaster, the German ecclesiastic, inculcating instruction and morality into the minds and hearts;—then is it not true that we would enter the country not as brigands but as benefactors?

I hear someone say again: 'Utopianism!' 'Beautiful schemes, but

unrealisable!' 'Will the other Powers tolerate such a thing? Are you willing to assume the responsibility of the world war which would be sure to be the result?' Certainly these are serious questions; no conscientious man can pass them by with indifference. Men like the emperor William I, like Bismarck, were equally occupied with these questions, before setting their hands to the sword in 1866 and 1870; but, God be praised, they did not allow themselves to be paralysed by such questions; they said: 'He who is not willing to grant me my right voluntarily, him will I constrain; it is not for my pleasure that I draw the sword; but if it is necessary, if the honour, the well-being, the life of Germany demand this cure by fire and sword, this cure on which depends life or death, ah well, by God's grace I shall no longer fear to assume this terrible responsibility.'

Besides, to-day we are still far from reaching that position. We can nurse the firm hope that the war among the European powers will be averted to-day, quite as much as in 1878. When the other Powers see that Germany is taking the matter seriously, that she is armed to the teeth and firmly resolved, if necessary, to make use of her armaments, they will think twice before attacking us. It will be sufficient for a man to be in command in Germany who will impose this on them, a man they dread, a man of the Bismarck stamp! . . .

God grant us the man who, understanding his times, will have sufficient strength and resolution to realise with a powerful hand that which he has recognised as just! God abandons no good German! To the valiant, God grants assistance!

"Amicus Patriae." 1896. Bibl., *ibid.*, pp. 14 ff.

[*Editorial note.*—The claims of German explorers were immediately taken up, when they were not actually provoked, by the Pangermanic League. The League made an anonymous but editorial catechism of them, in which it gave these explorers' opinions authority, and drew conclusions from those opinions. One manifesto, which the League published in 1898, was entitled *Deutsche Ansprüche an das Türkische Erbe* (Germany's claims to the Turkish Heritage). The following passage is taken from this manifesto:]

TURKEY MUST BELONG TO GERMANY JUST AS EGYPT BELONGS TO
ENGLAND

Undoubtedly the dissolution of Turkey will result in a displacement of power in the Orient which cannot continue without a counter-blow at our political and commercial interests. For this simple

reason, Germany can hardly assist at the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire in the capacity of a foreign spectator.

The German Empire has become a world power which has to defend important interests in all places and all latitudes. If, therefore, in any part of the globe whatever the territorial situation is subjected to modifications which secure an increase in influence and power for other States, Germany is entitled to demand that these modifications shall not be effected without a corresponding compensation being made to her also.

The emperor William the Great raised the German Empire out of its age-old feebleness to make of it the first in the world; this Empire has no more need to stand humbly aside when the council of nations is deciding the destinies of the world; her voice has so much the more right to make itself heard because it is raised, as German policy demonstrates, solely in the interests of justice and peace.

Also, as soon as events end in a dissolution of Turkey, no other power will any longer attempt to protest seriously if the German Empire equally claims a part for herself, a share to which she has the right as a world power, and which she needs to an incomparably greater degree than the other great powers, for the maintenance of the national and economic life of hundreds of thousands of her emigrants.

The German Empire would not be able for any length of time to endure that these hundreds of thousands should travel year after year to foreign parts of the world, carrying German energy, German civilisation to other nations, thus strengthening them in their economic and national opposition to the Empire.

But, as has been already indicated, if the continuation of the troubles in the Orient should not yet lead to a complete dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, it would hardly be possible to avoid the establishment of an intermediary stage, even on the lines of the English administration in Egypt. And then, we remember the words *beati possidentes*, the necessity also arises to see to it that the territories suitable for German colonisation shall not pass under the administration of Foreign States.

Alldeutscher Verband. 1896. Pangermanic League.
Bibl. III, 2, p. 6.

THE ultimate and loftiest aim of the Pan-German League, which of course still appears to lie in the distant future, is to unite all the countries of Central Europe inhabited by High and Low Germans

into a Great German Federation, whose members are to enjoy the greatest possible freedom.

Pan-German League. 1898. Bibl. II, 15, p. 35.

... In the case of a victorious war against Russia, Rumania might get Upper Bessarabia as far as the Dniester. Austria would annex Lower Bessarabia in the form of a Margraviate of Bessarabia, and by means of the German colonies, which already exist, she would transform it into a purely German region. The boundaries of this Austro-German Margraviate of Bessarabia would include the cities of Odessa, Bender, Borodino, Formosa, Reni, Ismail, and the mouths of the Danube at Sulina. A reciprocal exchange of populations with the neighbouring countries would easily ensure exclusively German colonisation in this Margraviate. German ships of war would mount guard at the mouth of the German Danube. . . .

Grossdeutschland und Mitteleuropa um das Jahr 1950.
1903. Bibl. III, 21 (cf. I, 14, p. 156).

... When our brothers of the Low German race have got over their almost childish fright at "annexation by the Prussians", they will acknowledge that the admission of Holland into Great Germany is advantageous to both parties. Moreover, in the bosom of Great Germany, the Dutch would be able to preserve, to a reasonable extent, their own particular characteristics.

The Kingdom of the Low Countries, on entering not only into the German Customs Union but also the Pangerman Confederation, with the retention of all its rights, will cease to maintain an independent fleet, but will organise an independent Army Corps, with privileges like those of Bavaria, and also a colonial army. It will remain in possession of its colonies, and might even undertake the administration of New Guinea and of all the German colonies in the Pacific.

The official language will remain Low German (Dutch) for legislation and administration in State, School and Church. High German will not be employed except in matters that concern the Confederation. Besides, it is obvious that its use will spread rapidly, but voluntarily, in commerce and the sciences.

If the Rhine from its source to its mouth becomes a truly German river, it will then be the Low German (or Dutch) commercial towns and seaports near its mouth which will chiefly benefit thereby.

It will thus be seen that a singularly attractive prospect for the economic and political future of the Low Countries is being opened up, if they will only consent to become members of the Pangerman Confederation. God grant that our Low German cousins may at last abandon that jealous regard for their independence as a separate State, which we, the Germans of the Empire, also felt down to the years 1866 and 1870.

Ibid., 1903, pp. 187-9.

... We may then leave Switzerland to choose whether she will enter the German Customs Union and the Pangerman Confederation, bringing all her cantons or only the German ones with her, or whether she shall form part of the German Empire on equal terms as a Federal State. ...

Ibid., 1903, pp. 191-2.

It all amounts to this, that with the overthrow of France Germany achieves unconditional hegemony in Central Europe and, simultaneously or immediately following, the incorporation of the German provinces of Austria in any of the forms corresponding to our racial aims. The natural pressure of this new German Reich will be so great that, *nolens volens*, the surrounding petty German States must be brought in under conditions which we determine.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER.¹ 1905. Bibl. VIII, B. 81, pp. 119-20.

... We with our colonies must advance direct to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean, to establish across the Pyrenees the road to the Iberian peninsula, and thence the connection with South America, which must constitute one section of the new imperial and economic province.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 137.

I picture to myself a France subjected and divided into three parts, in accordance with her ethnic composition: (a) the North-West, (b) the Centre and (c) the South and the East.

1. The North and the North-West comprise Artois, Picardy, Normandy. After a more or less prolonged period of Germanisation these provinces will be granted full rights, the 'civitas Germanica', and will be integrated into the Confederation of the Reich.

We shall adopt the same course in regard to the Walloon part of Belgium.

¹ Joseph Ludwig Reimer (born 1879, in Vienna); political writer.

2. The Centre, which has a population of about twenty million inhabitants, could remain independent, retain its language, its republican institutions, its autonomous administration in so far as all these liberties could be reconciled with the authority of the supreme Reich, with the rôle which this region of the Centre must one day play as a fraction of the economic sphere, with the slow but sure diffusion of the German language. To preserve the Germanic elements which are still quite numerous here, to make a protracted selection of them and to drain them off, we shall employ the 'civitas Germanica', which we shall grant sometimes to entire communities, sometimes to isolated individuals. In this area it is desirable that the race of 'non-Germans' should be extinguished.

The independence which we accord to this part of France is not arbitrary; it does not spring from unjustified benevolence. It is a restriction which we impose upon ourselves so as not to undertake everything at once.

3. The great mass of 'non-Germans' occupies the East and the South. The fact that they are grouped along the frontier of the German Reich forbids our annexing the regions which they inhabit, as we have done in the case of the North. We cannot leave these areas their independence, as we can the territories of the Centre. In these areas, instead of confining ourselves to preparations for colonisation, it would be necessary to proceed direct to colonisation itself.

We cannot tolerate a foreign and dangerous race on the very frontiers of the Reich, we must guard ourselves against political aggressions and race hatreds. Through these colonies we shall establish direct contact with the Mediterranean and the Ocean, and this will enable us to establish direct relations with South America, which must form a part of the Empire's new economic sphere.

Such is the partitioning which it would be expedient to apply to France; there must be no lack of energy for its realisation. But it represents nothing impossible.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl., *ibid.*, pp. 166-7.

WE desire and must desire: a Germanic-stock Empire of the German nation, a world Empire of German stock under the hegemony of the German people.

To achieve this in practice, we have (a) to Germanise the Scandinavian and Netherlands Germanic States at present under consideration—to denationalise in the weaker sense of the word.

(b) The racially non-Germanic peoples under consideration have to be disintegrated into their component elements, attracting the Germanic elements to us and Germanising them, and rejecting the non-Germanic elements.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. *Bibl. II*, 15, pp. 43-4.

AT the time of the negotiations in 1866 it is said that Bismarck uttered these words: 'Trieste will remain a German port in any case.' This is without confirmation, but it may very well have been said. It is true that Trieste is not a port of the first rank, but its possession is a matter of life and death for Austria, and Germany is interested in it. The Austrian and the German interests fuse at Trieste, and that necessitates that this port should remain independent in relation to any third power, no matter who it may be.

PAUL DEHN. 1905. *Bibl. VIII*, D. 36, p. 77.

WE are our own destiny to ourselves, we alone and no other; we must remember that and act accordingly. Our people have driven back the Huns towards Asia, although they came on like a hurricane. They have repulsed the shock of the Turks and dammed up the Slav flood which for centuries had extended over all the territory between the Elbe and the Oder. And at this juncture should our forces, so much better organised, hesitate before the Russian people, solely on account of their mass? They are a mass, maybe; but they are not people, nor personalities. Like a stagnant pond which is surrounded by the mysterious whisper of rustling reeds, these people extend over their Sarmatian plain, the same to-day as they have always been, an obtuse crowd, without movement and without history, all superficial varnish and profound shadows. Whenever it has been faced with men, whether Turks or Japanese, this race has had difficulty in maintaining its position, despite its passive and patient bravery. Without doubt, this flood is a danger to our culture, but only if we unthinkingly open our dykes, as is happening at present. Otherwise it presents no danger. On the contrary, every act of German energy which pushed back those dykes right into this sea itself would conquer new lands for the Germans, and would quickly turn those lands into German lands. That is the sole lesson which we can draw from the history of our struggles against the Slavs. There is no other.

FRIEDRICH LANGE. 1904. *Bibl. VIII*, E. 9, p. 209.

THE German Reich must thus, in a future Customs Union, bring under its influence such large territories of the earth that markets for the industry of a Central European Customs Union should be ample for at least a century, and secured against any competitive foreign power.

ERNST HASSE. *Bibl. V*, 76 (ed. 1906), p. 11.

THE territory open to future German expansion . . . must extend from the North Sea and the Baltic, to the Persian Gulf, absorbing the Netherlands and Luxembourg, Switzerland, the entire basin of the Danube, the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor.

ERNST HASSE. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

THE Netherlands are commercially dependent on Germany alone, and just as in the Middle Ages their own advantage caused the Netherlands to separate from the Reich, so now the instinct of self-preservation will compel them to return to it. To-day they are still in a position to make conditions, but once we have the great settlement with Britain and France behind us, it will be we who will make demands. The entry of Hamburg into the German customs area also occurred with reluctance, and to-day its turnover has been trebled.

Through the entry of the Netherlands the German economic area will receive a valuable complement, for it is monstrous that the territory of the river Rhine which contains the chief industrial districts of the Reich should be cut off from the seaports of the river, from Antwerp, Rotterdam and Amsterdam.

OTTO RICHARD TANNENBERG. 1911. *Bibl.*, IX, 153, p. 91.

THE Congo must become a German colony. Through the entry of Belgium into the German Reich the old German Reich frontier of the time of Charles V would approximately be restored on the Scheldt. With the French Republic and the Napoleonids we settled accounts in 1871; with the French Kings, particularly Louis XIV, we are not finished yet.

. . . It is imperative that Holland, with her royal family, her European territory and her colonies . . . should enter the German Empire as a State of the 'Bund'.

OTTO RICHARD TANNENBERG. 1911. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-6.

. . . The German people must distraint on Central Africa from the mouth of the Orange River to Lake Chad and from the Cameroon

THE "HAMBURG TO PERSIAN GULF" SCHEME OF 1911



"EUROPE 1950"

A Continental and Mediterranean Great-Germany Map
by Dr. O. C. Tannenberg

Note.—Germany and German territorial aims are indicated in grey.

Mountains to the mouth of the river Rovuma; on Asia Minor; on the Malayan Islands in South-East Asia; and finally on the southern half of South America. Then they will possess a colonial empire consistent with their power.

Sentiment in politics is stupidity. Humanitarian twaddle is idiotic. Charity begins at home, politics is business. Right and Wrong are concepts that are necessary in civic life.

The German people are always right because they are German and number eighty-seven millions. Our fathers have left us a great deal to do.

OTTO RICHARD TANNENBERG. 1911. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

IN conclusion of my work I give a survey . . . of . . . the extensions of the German Reich:

German Colonies and Protectorates

	Square Kilometres.	Inhabitants.
1. African Possessions:		
Togo, Cameroon, Congo, Chad Territory, East Africa, Angola, Lüderitzland, Madagascar, Comorin, Reunion, Obok, the Cap-berdic Islands, San Thomé and Principe	8,870,920	44,224,627
2. Near and Middle East:		
Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Kurdistan, North Arabia, Western Persia	3,204,399	18,092,661
3. South-East Asia and Oceania:		
The Indian islands, Annam, Cambodia, Cochin China, Macao, Kwang-chao-wan, New Guinea, and Oceanic Islands	2,489,220	48,378,627
4. Central American Islands and Surinam	133,330	538,000
5. Protectorates:		
In Africa, Morocco	1,000,000	7,000,000
In Asia, Siam	634,000	6,320,000
6. South America	6,500,000	12,000,000
German Colonies and Protectorates	22,831,871	136,553,915

This represents for Germany an accretion of approximately 20 million square kilometres and 124 million inhabitants.

OTTO RICHARD TANNENBERG. 1911. *Ibid.*, pp. 263-4.

. . . So far, Portugal has not shown herself capable of following, even approximately, the progress of the civilisation of Western Europe. If we except the Scandinavian countries of the far North, which are endowed with an excess of inhospitable regions, Portugal ranks, with Spain, among the countries of Western Europe in which the density of population is at its lowest, although the fertility of its soil and its outstandingly favourable situation for traffic would easily have enabled it to reach the same rank as Italy. The figures for Portuguese and Spanish emigration amount to excessive proportions, but, far from being directed to their own colonies, it goes to the former American colonies. To wish the Spanish colonies an increase is stupid; to let the Portuguese colonies subsist entirely under the Portuguese flag is an obvious attempt at mystification on the part of Great Britain, Portugal's protector. Portugal cannot develop herself, far less develop her colonies. She does well to reserve this or that basis of support overseas to herself against the future; she would do well, in her own interest and in consideration of a suitable pecuniary indemnity, to cede the great mass of her possessions to others who have real use for them and can make something of them. It is to the common interest of Europe to take Germany's and Italy's great colonial needs into consideration. For, as our table shows, there can be no doubt that to-day Italy and Germany, in accordance with their great density of population and with their needs in relation to food supplies, should first and foremost have the strongest of colonial guarantees.

GERHARD HILDEBRAND.¹ 1912. Bibl. VIII, D. 90,
pp. 27-31.

A STATE of affairs at all satisfying to Germany would be realised only if it were possible to detach essential portions from the Portuguese colonial empire. To make propositions of this nature is always a grave matter, for numerous factors can be thoroughly appreciated only with a very exact knowledge of all the circumstances. But, in a quite general way and entirely non-committally, it could be said perhaps that Germany's situation would be less disturbing and that her colonial endowment would be considerably improved if in East Africa she disposed of the Portuguese territory as far as the Zambesi, below the river Shiré, and, in West Africa, the present Portuguese districts of Mossamedes and Benguela. All these territories are still very poorly developed and could acquire their full value only in the course of centuries.

¹ Social Democrat, economist.

... Also, it would not be taking an anti-Socialist step, not falling back into nationalist tendencies, or protecting the capitalists' particular interests, so far as the workers of the countries, Germany and Italy, disinherited in colonial regards are concerned, to declare in the present situation: We are for peace, but solely for a peace founded upon equality of rights. We owe it to the future of our people, to the future of our children to carry to a successful conclusion and to achieve colonial security for the economic life of the disinherited peoples, whatever may be the importance of the obstacles and from whatever quarter they may come! That would be neither nationalism nor chauvinism, but simply an act of personal defence. It would be a national attitude, in the sense in which the obligation on the Labour movement to assure the conditions of existence of each people is national, it would therefore be a step, genuinely necessary and salutary, towards socialism.

GERHARD HILDEBRAND. 1912. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-63.

... But among these fragments there is one, the most precious perhaps in political and military regards, which returned to us at the same time as the new Reich was being formed. That one is Alsace, and with it also the fragments of Lorraine, which have always been foreign. A conquest which has led us, we have to admit, if only one plumbs the abysses of history, to a rapid regermanisation of the directing social strata in Alsace, and to a quite new Germanisation of Lorraine. This last fact is perhaps the most satisfying result that it has been possible to obtain from the Germans' modern tendency to emigrate westwards. It seems probable that Metz was partly German in language and nationality until the twelfth century; it is certain that Metz and its environs, at the time of its reunion with the Empire, bore a French character. With what rapidity this has been changed! Not only has a large part of the population of the city been Germanised, but the external aspect of the country has already taken on a German stamp, and in the north of the province a flourishing industry has brought a rapid influx of German immigration with the birth of new localities and the development of the old ones.

... Truly, the nation could well support goodhumouredly its several thousands of 'Françaisillons' (*Französlinge*), thinly varnished, with the varnish peeling off more and more every day, the clique of those who wish, to the scandalising of the good average Alsatian, to consume the best part of the wealth they have acquired in a German

country at Paris, in the foreign fashion; truly, they have their reward. . . . For that matter, for a long time now all sincere and serious Frenchmen have recognised that all Alsace is henceforth acquired for Germanism, for the German Reich.

KARL LAMPRECHT. *Bibl. VIII, B. 52, Vol. 2,*
pp. 402 ff. (ed. 1912).

It would be a complete mistake for us to sacrifice our Balkan interests, which are of capital importance for us, to the Utopia of European peace.

GENERAL FRIEDRICH VON BERNHARDI. *Die Post,*
July 1913. *Bibl. I, 28, p. 131.*

IN my view the following fruits of victory are most desirable for the future of Germany and with it the associated continental Europe: (1) emancipation from England's tyranny; (2) the requisite invasion of the British pirate State by the German navy and army, the capture of London; (3) the partitioning of Belgium,—the greater part, as far west as Ostend and Antwerp, to be a German confederated State, the northern part going to Holland, the south-east to an enlarged Luxembourg, also as a German confederated State; (4) Germany to receive a large part of the British colonies as well as the Congo; (5) France to surrender a part of her north-east provinces bordering on Germany. . . . *Quod Fortuna juvat.*

ERNST HAECKEL.¹ 1914. *Bibl. VIII, F. 19, pp. 65 f.*

MORE important than the question of correcting the frontiers is the problem of the French Colonies. That subject must be discussed elsewhere. It cannot be doubted that the actual occupation of the French Colonies by Germany is possible only after the defeat of the British Fleet. . . .

KONRAD VON WINTERSTETTEN.² 1915. *Bibl., V, 207.*

GET the map and see what lies between the Vistula and the Vosges, between Galicia and the Bodensee! Think of this Plain as a unit, as a much-compartmented fraternal country, as a defensive league, as

¹ Ernst Heinrich Haeckel (1834-1919), biologist; Professor of Zoology at Jena University.

² Conrad von Winterstetten (1872-1931) (pseudonym of Albert Ritter). Leader of the *Alldeutsche Verband*, manager of the *Zeitschrift für Politik und Wirtschaft*.

an economic area! Here all historical particularism must under the pressure of the world war be wiped away to such an extent that it can bear the idea of unity.

... History wants to speak to us about it amid the thunder of cannon; it depends on us whether we want to listen.

FRIEDRICH NAUMANN. Bibl. V, 123, p. 3.

A VALE which has been won by German blood! In recent days the waters of the Meuse have often flowed blood-red. Many a warrior has sunk into these depths. Longing and hope rise in our hearts: May destiny determine that all these dead, after a triumphant war, shall sleep at rest in a German valley!

HEINRICH BINDER, in *Mit dem Hauptquartier nach Westen*. Bibl. I, 45, p. 222.

CERTAINLY we shall do nothing to the Swiss and the Dutch so long as they remain neutral, but why may we not indemnify ourselves in other lands, where the German sword has already once made Germans the rulers? If it ever becomes possible, as in 1870 and against the Danes in 1864, we must extend our frontiers not over foreign areas, if ever that is possible, but wherever there are German people with German blood. And truly, none of our enemies can find any fault with us for that, not even the French.

ADOLF WAGNER. Extract from Speech delivered on 20 Feb. 1915, at the fourth general meeting of the 'Deutsche Wehrvereine'. *Die Wehr*, April 1917, p. 7.

... must here ... also be expressly pointed out that the political, military and economic aims which the German people must demand in the interests of assuring their future are in the closest connection with one another, and cannot be separated from one another.

Therefore it follows that all such demands, which at first sight seem to be of purely economic importance, must be regarded from the aspect of the urgent necessity for the greatest possible strengthening of our national might, and from the military aspect also.

This applies to the great mass of the demands put forward in the petition, which link together on the one hand the acquisition of settlement areas and on the other the seizure of the Meuse-Moselle ore areas, as well as the French coal areas of the Departments of Nord and Pas de Calais together with the Belgian areas.

The acquirement of adequate economic settlement areas is indispensable not only in the interests of extending the agricultural basis of our national economy and therewith the maintenance of the happy equilibrium of our entire economy, which is recognised as very necessary in the present war, but also to secure the sources of our national population strength (which derives from a strong agriculture), especially of an increase in our population, and thereby to strengthen our military might.

In the same way the acquisition of such districts as the specified ore and coal areas is not only in the interests of the extension of our industrial power, but also constitutes a military necessity.

. . . There is no surplus, but rather a shortage of raw iron and steel at home, and still more in neutral countries.

The munitions factories demand iron and steel in quantities of which formerly only a few had any conception. . . .

As a basic element in the replacement of these raw iron and steel masses Ninette is growingly coming to the forefront, as this ore alone can be obtained in seriously increasing quantities at home.

But what is the situation in regard to obtaining Ninette in this war or in any future war?

In passing it must be remarked that in view of the cutting off of phosphate imports the extensive production of steel also provides the sole possibility of supplying German agriculture with phosphoric acid.

Therefore to secure supplies to the German Reich in any future war the total Ninette production, together with the fortresses of Longwy and Verdun, without which this area cannot be held, is imperatively necessary.

The possession of a larger mass of coal and most especially of bituminous coal,—which is produced in great quantities in the Northern France field,—in at least similar quantities to the iron ore is of decisive importance to the outcome of the war.

Petition from Six Economic Associations to the
Reich Chancellor. Berlin, 20 May 1915.

Federation of Agriculturists.

German Peasants' Federation.

Local of the Christian Peasants' Union, also
the Westphalian Peasants' Union.

Central Association of German Industrialists.

Federation of Industrialists.

Reich German Association of Middle Classes.

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GERMANY cannot care better for her future than if she first and foremost strives for the acquisition of those maritime naval bases which will make a fundamental adjustment to the security which we now have to deplore. We need naval bases at the entrance and the exit to the Channel, we need strong naval bases overseas.

ALBERT BALLIN, Speech in the 'Verein der
Koburger Reeder', *Magdeburgische Zeitung*,
21 Oct. 1915.

NOBLESSE OBLIGE The idea that we are a chosen people imposes on us heavy duties, and duties only. . . . We are not out to conquer the world. Have no fear, dear neighbours, we will not devour you. . . . Should it be necessary to increase our territory in order that the greater body of the people may have room to develop, in that case we shall take as much land as may seem to be necessary. We will also plant our foot where it appears important on strategic grounds that we should do so, in order to maintain our impregnable strength. Thus, if our position of strength in the world gains by it, we shall establish stations for our fleet, for example, at Dover, Malta, and Suez. Beyond this we shall do nothing. We have not the least desire to expand, for we have something more important to do.

WERNER SOMBART. 1915. Bibl. VIII, D. 192, p. 143.

IF a point can be found anywhere in the world through whose control sensible pressure can be exerted on Britain whenever she threatens us, then the freedom of the seas from British tyranny . . . will be restored. There is such a point; it lies by the Suez Canal.

. . . Egypt is the point on the great armoured body of Britain where there is no armour, only soft skin, and if one comes close to this point with a proper spear, then everything will be all right with the British monster.

PAUL ROHRBACH. 1915. Bibl. V, 158.

WHERE do the chances for the German future lie? They lie in the East! In Asia Minor, in Mesopotamia, Syria! . . . That is where we have most of the raw materials that we must have, and if the sea route should be barred to us we can get them here overland, through Turkey and Bulgaria, by rail.

PAUL ROHRBACH. 1915. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

WILL Arndt's demand be granted in full? Will the Scheldt and the Ardennes become Germany's boundaries? Will Luxembourg and Flanders have to go the same way that Alsace-Lorraine went in the past? Let us not forget that the Netherlands, whose southern portion is Belgium, are old German Reich territory and have in great part always been German. The Belgium of to-day . . . is German territory as far as a line running fairly straight from the Maas in the middle between Lüttich and Maastricht approximately to Dunkirk; it includes, of the famous cities of the subsequent age, Maastricht, Louvain, Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Bruges, Courtrai, Ostend, Ypres. . . .

F. RACHFAHL, *Preussische Kreuzzeitung*,
17 March 1915.

WE must become so strong and must so ruthlessly weaken our opponents that no enemy will ever dare to attack us again. To achieve this a modification of frontiers in the west as in the east is essential.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Speech on 15 July 1915,
at a joint meeting of the National Liberal
Party for the 'Rheinprovinz' and the
National Liberal Central Committee for
Westphalia.

FROM Antwerp to Baghdad there lies before us a large economic field in which German enterprise can develop. If we succeed in translating into reality the idea of a Central European customs agreement, which is in the air, and to which at one time Friedrich List in Germany and a man like Schäffle in Vienna devoted their energies, then the way to an understanding may be left open—and a large economic area opposed to Chamberlain's Greater Britain and the power of the United States, which would afford sufficient space for the co-existence and co-operation of the German and Austro-Hungarian national economies through the exchange of goods and through an advance towards Asia Minor, which the policy of Emperor William II has indicated and upon which German enterprise has already started through the grandiose project of the Baghdad Railway.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN. 1915. Bibl. V, 196, pp. 58–9.

WE also concur with the Reich Chancellor's program as regards the Flemish people. However, the Belgian question also has an important political aspect. If Belgium is not to become a *glacis* for our

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enemies again, then not only must the *status quo ante* be precluded, but Germany's military, political and economic supremacy must be guaranteed.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, from a Reichstag speech
on 6 April 1916. Bibl. I, 26, p. 69.

YET not to ourselves alone are we restricted in the present and the future. From Antwerp and Hamburg, from Libau and Vilna, to Syria and Mesopotamia extends the great continental area of a uniform and political system which is linked up with the German-Austrian Alliance, and for which enduring political forms must be found.

CONRAD BORNHAK. 1916. Bibl. VIII, D. 22.

THE Executive of the National Liberal Party emphatically reiterates its conviction, expressed on 15 August 1915 and since confirmed by events, that only an extension of the land and sea boundaries of Germany's sphere of power in the East and West and overseas can furnish the necessary real guarantees to the German people for its future military, political and economic security.

The Executive declares that this security, based not only on agreements, but on actual extension of power, is particularly necessary as against Britain, which is revealing itself more and more clearly as Germany's chief enemy. The Executive therefore regards it as one of the principal tasks of German policy to secure for the General Staff freedom to employ any military means which will guarantee a decisive victory over this chief enemy, which is indispensable for Germany's future.

ERNST BASSERMANN, from a resolution passed on
21 May 1916 in Berlin, by the Executive
of the National Liberal Party, after a report
by Reichstag Member Bassermann on the
political situation. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 37.

WE do not want to shorten the war at the expense of victory. If this historic moment is not exploited, then the Teutonic tribes are lost to Germanism for ever.

ERNST BASSERMANN. Bibl. II, 11, Vol. 32,
p. 1175.

THE Baghdad Railway links the world's immeasurable store of raw materials and the richest granary of the earth with Europe and renders us entirely independent of Britain. And what Asia Minor cannot offer us, German science will give us.

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This *complete independence* of any overseas supplies will with absolute certainty bring us the freedom of the seas, for it will deprive Britain of the lever of her blackmailing policy.

Not continental policy *or* world policy, no—continental policy *and* world policy; with *continental policy* as a solid basis to world empire—that should be our motto!

KARL HERMANN MÜLLER, *Die Bedeutung der Bagdadbahn*, Berlin, 1915, p. 29.

WE will create real guarantees to ensure that Belgium shall not become a Franco-British vassal and shall not be used as a military and economic high road against Germany. Germany cannot abandon the so long enslaved Flemish people to Latinisation. We will, on the contrary, ensure for it a sound development corresponding to its resources and based on the Flemish language and character.

VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, statement in the Reichstag, 5 April 1916. Bibl. I, 39 (e), p. 9.

EACH of us knows that victory in this gigantic struggle will confront our people and our Government with new, mighty tasks. The question will arise whether we can be satisfied with the old frontiers in the west and the east, or whether thereafter we shall have to strive to rebind with our State wide areas of the provinces formerly ruled by the old German Reich and settled by German colonists. . . . Our frontiers can be extended as far as our future security demands and our power permits us to achieve: but these foreign provinces may not achieve influence on the internal structure of our State until they have themselves developed somewhat in the German style and thus have grown capable of being members of a German national State.

ERICH BRANDENBURG.¹ 1916. Bibl. VIII, B. 11 (Preface).

IN view of the temper which this war will leave towards us, a simple restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* would be not victory, but defeat for Germany.

ERNST VON BÜLOW. 1916. Bibl. IX, 17, p. 12.

¹ Erich Brandenburg (1868–), historian; Lecturer at Leipzig University, 1894, and Professor, 1899; editor of *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*.

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No effort of the enemy can wrest from us what we already hold. In the East changes will be necessary. Belgium will continue, but it will be a different Belgium, both externally and internally, from what it was before 1914. The *status quo ante* cannot be repeated.

VON PAYER,¹ Speech on 6 April 1916 to the Reichstag. Bibl. II, 11, Vol. 1, p. 731.

Our brave troops have conquered land for us both in the East and West. Now, it may be assumed that our enemies will either give up the struggle while they are still in a position to pay money; then they must give us monetary compensation in redeeming the pledges we hold. Or they will continue the struggle until they have really nothing left to pay with; then our enemies will be compelling us to keep the conquered land. *We either receive money, or we must keep the land we have conquered*, in order to pay off out of its products part of the interest we have to pay. We must have either *land or money*.

GEORG BERNHARD. 1916. Bibl. IX, 7, pp 19-20.

It is one of the aims of this war not only to regain the colonies now wrested from us, or, if this is impossible, to obtain in exchange others of at least equal value, but also to win new ones in addition—and I consider this such an obvious demand that it requires no justification. We need colonies, more and better ones than we had before the war. True, we do not need them so much as so-called settlement colonies . . . but we need them all the more as economic and particularly as plantation colonies: as territories for the production of raw materials which our home country does not provide and, above all, as bases for our Fleet. The extension of our colonial possessions can take place only at the expense of other countries. . . . In my view a considerable expansion in Central Africa would be worth striving for, Belgium with her Congo State being, first of all, cast for the losing rôle.

PROF. GERHARD ANSCHÜTZ. 1917. Bibl. VIII, D. 3, p. 6.

THE Belgian State will remain in being, but will become dependent on the German Reich, so that it will or may be restricted by us in its right of self-determination, notably as regards the spheres of foreign

¹ Reichstag member, Volkspartei (Progressive Peoples' Party).

policy, defence, customs and trade, to whatever extent our interests demand it. The legal character and political object of this relationship would render it approximately equivalent to what is commonly known as a protectorate. *Belgium will become a protectorate of the German Reich.* The Reich will assume the protection and representation of Belgium in relation to other countries; and in order to perform the functions involved, it will dispose of that country's armed forces and means of defence, and will be entitled to the military occupation of suitable points.

GERHARD ANSCHÜTZ. 1917. Bibl., *ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

IF we forgo annexations on the larger scale, it becomes so much the more important to consider the third possibility, which consists in the simple incorporation of the occupied neighbouring countries. For that offers the only way of achieving the aim which is set us by our vital necessities. In that case we would certainly have to acknowledge the restored or newly-founded neighbour States as bearing single and unique State supreme power, but they would have to be placed in a dependent relationship which would restrict their sovereign self-sufficiency and would hold them fast in our sphere of power.

OTTO VON GIERKE. 1917. Bibl. VIII, D. 78, p. 54.

GERMANY in Belgium is interested in the Flemish movement which has already made considerable headway and which would be mortally injured if we did not extend to Belgium the policy of force. Incidentally, the Flemish question is not settled and I do not by any means entertain the thoughtless hope that the Flemish people will make our task of dominating Belgium easy. . . .

No doubt, we must support the Flemish people, but in no circumstances can we agree that they should become entirely independent.

GENERAL BARON VON BISSING.¹ 1917. Bibl. I, 39 (r), p. 9.

UNLESS we subject Belgium to our power, unless we steer its government in a German direction, we shall have lost the war. . . . The frontier which, in the future, is to protect Belgium against Britain and France must be pushed back northwards, as far as possible.

For more than two years my entire policy has been guided by these forward considerations. . . . It is these ideas that have inspired

¹ German Governor-General of Belgium in the last war.

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my Flemish policy. It is under their guidance that I have been pursuing it. . . .

GENERAL BARON VON BISSING, letter dated 14 Jan. 1917 to
Gustav Stresemann. Bibl. I, 39 (c), p. 10.

BUT when to-day we speak in Europe of new territory, we must principally think of Russia and the border States subject to her.

Destiny itself seems to wish to point out the way for us here. In delivering Russia over to Bolshevism Fate robbed the Russian people of that intellectual class which had once created the Russian State and were the guarantees of its existence. For the Russian State was not organised by the constructive political talent of the Slav element in Russia but was much more a marvellous exemplification of the capacity for State-building possessed by the Germanic element, in a race of inferior worth.

Thus were many powerful Empires created all over the Earth. More than once inferior races with Germanic organisers and rulers as their leaders became formidable States, and continued to exist as long as the racial nucleus remained which had originally created each respective State.

For centuries Russia owed the source of its livelihood as a State to the Germanic nucleus of its governing classes.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 533.

WE are not in the happy situation of those Bolshevik Jews who have got too much land. If the Urals with their immense treasures of raw materials, Siberia with its rich forests and the Ukraine with its vast grain-growing plains were to be found in Germany, then, under the National-Socialist Government, she would swim in wealth.

ADOLF HITLER, Speech at Nuremberg,
Sept. 1936.

GERMANY'S will be the historical mission to build up this Eastern European *Lebensraum*. How can this be done? . . . First of all there must be a clear and friendly arrangement with the British Empire as well as with North America. . . . A strong navy in the Baltic and a water-ways goods route via the Baltic through a new Hansa Canal, up the River Elbe and via the future Rhine-Main-Danube Canal to

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the Black Sea—this will go far to provide for our communications a new field of activity from which we might thrust forward to the East. This will enable the whole belt of nations from Latvia to the Black Sea to have their economic life more intensely developed. . . . These nations form a rampart behind which Central Europe is going to watch the disintegration of Soviet Russia which must inevitably come about one day.

WERNER DAITZ, *Nationalsozialistischer Wirtschaftsdienst*, 3 Oct. 1932, reprinted in *Der Weg zur völkischen Wirtschaft und zur Europäischen Grossraumwirtschaft*, Munich, 1938, Vol. 2, p. 73.

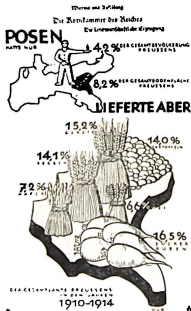
. . . The two territories (the Polish Provinces of Posnania and Pomerania) stood in a clear, vital and necessary relation with the German economic space and cultural sphere.

. . . A more intimate knowledge of Poland's and Prussia's historical past would inevitably have led the dictating Powers to the conviction that the disputed territories in the course of historical development only prospered economically and culturally when they were under predominant German influence—a clear expression of the indisputable geo-political unity of these territories with the German economic space.

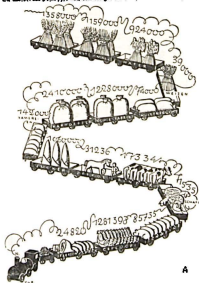
Posen, the granary of the Reich, in 1913 exported by rail to the rest of the Reich 1,358,000 tons of rye, 1,159,000 tons of barley and malt, 924,000 tons of oats, 39,000 tons of wheat, 2,410,000 tons of potatoes, 1,228,000 tons of milling products, 74,000 tons of pulse vegetables, 142,000 tons of seeds, 1,060,000 tons of sugar, 31,236 horses, 173,341 head of cattle, 71,535 sheep, 85,735 pigs, 1,281,398 fowls, 24,820 tons meat and bacon (*see map*).

. . . Economically, however, there is in the areas in which the geo-political situation cannot be altered either by the power of the State or by the transposition of the avenues of economic life, an increasing tendency—despite all their externally Polish character—to fit back into the natural economic and political nexus, and this tendency will in all probability prevail all the more, through the inherent logic of the situation, during the impending serious economic and cultural crises, because it will become clear that these highly developed areas cannot permanently maintain their viability within the Polish State, with its entirely different economic basis, despite any new and grandiosely planned systems of communication, and these areas will

HOW, IN 1933, H. RAUSCHNING SAW GERMANY'S EASTERN "LEBENSRAUM"



Erzeugung und Erzeugung an abgesetzten Getreide und Vieh.
Die Kornkammer des Reiches
Die Statistik aus dem Jahre 1913 nach dem übrigen Reich auf dem Gebiet der



"Posen, the granary of the Reich, contained only 4.2 per cent. of Prussia's total population and 8.2 per cent. of Prussia's total area, but provided, in the years 1910-14, 15.2 per cent. of the barley, 14 per cent. of the potatoes, 14.1 per cent. of the rye, 7.2 per cent. of the oats, 6.6 per cent. of the wheat and 16.5 per cent. of the sugar-beet harvested in the whole of Prussia."

GERMANIC "MITTELEUROPA" AND "WELTRAUM"

once more experience the painful decline which they experienced before the Prussian era.

HERMANN RAUSCHNING

in *Bedeutung und Entwicklung der abgetretenen Gebiete Westpreussens und Posens im deutschen und polnischen Raum*, in "Deutschland und der Korridor", Volk und Reich Verlag, Berlin, 1933, p. 118.

THEREFORE, the call for our own space, our own bread, is a condition for the validation of spiritual values, the forming of the German character. In this great struggle for existence, for honour, freedom and bread on the part of such a creative nation as Germany, no account can be taken of Poles, Czechs, etc., who are as impotent as they are devoid of values and presumptuous. They must be pushed towards the East, so that the soil may become free for cultivation by Teutonic peasant hands.

ALFRED ROSENBERG. 1931. Bibl. V, 170, p. 662.

[*Editorial note.*—The territorial annexations which Germany counts on making in the event of victory in the present war were clearly revealed in an article published in *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* in June 1940. It recalled Hitler's remark: "The present struggle will decide the fate of the German nation for a thousand years," and continued:]

We will try, with the aid of memories of the grandeur of the ancient German Empire, to obtain some faint idea of the hopes which these months open to us:

Under Otto the Great, the frontier of the Reich in the West, starting from Lyons, stretched along almost the whole length of the Saône, leaving Toul and Verdun, with the Meuse, to the East, and followed a line which, close to the upper course of the Marne and the Aisne, ran as far as the Meuse, near Mézières and Charleville. Then the frontier passed round Hainault to the west of Cambrai, and followed the course of the Scheldt as far as Antwerp.

The Saône, the Meuse and the Scheldt remained the frontiers of the Reich until the reign of Charles V. From the sixteenth century onward, these provinces were detached one after the other from the Reich to be united to the crown of France.

Our armies in the North of France must be proud to struggle, under the renovator of the Reich, on an old historical land of the Reich.

Never more must France chase the German people out of their

historical vital space. Never more must Belgium and Holland be used as bases for attack against Germany by foreign nations who have either grown greater for a long time now outside Europe, or who have founded their power solely on African divisions composed of negroes.

Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, June 1940.

DECREE

Concerning the Establishment of the Institute for German Eastern Work in the General Government in occupied Poland, dated 19 April 1940.

By virtue of Paragraph 1 of Section 5 of the Decree of the Führer and Reich Chancellor relating to the administration of the occupied Polish territories (Reich Law Journal I, p. 2077) I hereby decree:

Sect. 1. For the purpose of the continuation and intensification of the present German research work in the East, the

Institute for German Eastern Work

shall be established.

Sect. 2. (1) The Institute for German Eastern Work shall be a Corporation under Common Law, and shall be directly subordinate to the Governor-General. Its headquarters shall be in Cracow.

Sect. 3. It shall be the task of the Institute for German Eastern Work to elucidate scientifically all fundamental questions relating to the Eastern space insofar as they affect the General Government, and also to publish and disseminate the results of research. In the performance of this task the Institute for German Eastern Work shall collaborate with other bodies having similar aims.

Sect. 4. (1) The Governor-General shall be President of the Institute for German Eastern Work. He shall represent the Institute both legally and extra-legally.

Sect. 5. (1) The budget of the Institute for German Eastern Work shall be covered by the revenue of the Government-General.

Sect. 6. In other respects the legal relationships of the Institute for German Eastern Work shall be governed by a Statute to be issued by the Governor-General.

Sect. 7. The present Decree comes into force on 20 April 1940.

CRACOW, 19 April 1940.

The Governor-General for the occupied Polish territories,

FRANK.¹

¹ *Ed. note.*—The Institute for German Eastern Work was opened on the Führer's birthday by the Governor-General in the course of a solemn ceremony held on the premises of the old Jagellonian Library in Cracow.

Section 2

PANGERMANS ABROAD

We can have no "fifty-fifty" allegiance in this country. Either a man is an American and nothing else, or he is not an American at all. We are akin by blood and descent to most of the nations of Europe; but we are separate from all of them. We are a new and distinct nation.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, 1917.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

From time immemorial the Germans have been a nation of emigrants and commercial travellers. Both in Europe and in the Western Hemisphere they were accepted unsuspectingly, and in almost all the countries inhabited by white races they succeeded in establishing large concentrations of German emigrants. On the continent of Europe these centres were called German minorities, but across the Ocean they were called the German emigration. In both cases they developed because of the hospitality of the nations which opened their gates to the German emigrants who sought bread and work abroad.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the German Reich, which was not itself able to feed these millions of German emigrants, decided to exploit them as an instrument of German political influence and as a weapon for the extension of German Lebensraum. During the Second Reich the Pangermanic League and an enormous network of organisations dependent on it worked for this object. After the 1914-18 war the Weimar Republic carefully cherished this instrument of struggle, inherited from Imperial Germany. The foreign Germans received special attention, and their organisations worked in close understanding with the German Foreign Office and Reichswehr. In particular, on the European continent the protection of the German minorities, over whom the politicians and propagandists of the Weimar Republic raised such a humanitarian storm, had as its function the maintenance of irredentism among the German concentrations in European countries and the organisation of the German minorities in espionage and subversive activities against the States whose bread they were eating.

Thus the Nazi Reich did not invent anything new, but drew all the practical conclusions from the experiences of the Second Reich and the Weimar Republic, transforming the German centres all over the world into nuclei of the Fifth Column. That name emerged only recently, but the thing had existed for many years. The Czechs, Poles, Dutch, Belgians, Norwegians and French might well repeat the words of Jacques Bainville, written on 15 January 1915, when they ponder on the experiences of the present war. He said:

“These thousands upon thousands of Germans who earned their living—a good one—here, were pally with their colleagues at the factory or the Bourse, frequented the café and the pub and made good partners at card games, got into the homes, fell in love with and perhaps married the daughter of the house, pursued their task of espionage without overlapping, without betraying one another. A side-line spontaneously accomplished, a partial double life carried on unremittingly. . . .”¹

The present-day German Fifth Column is operating everywhere, in Europe, in the United States, as the Dies Committee's Report revealed, and in the Republics of Latin America. Its network is so widespread, so carefully hidden, that it is worth recalling the words of a man who knew Germany and who was a fighter for Liberalism, the late Robert Dell:

‘But it is true that one has to be careful, for in Paris and London, and all over Europe, there are spies, informers and propaganda agents posing as refugees or opponents of the Nazi régime. . . .’²

No less interesting are the observations of the President of the Norwegian Storting, J. Hambro, who draws the following conclusion from his knowledge of the activities of the German Fifth Column in Norway:

“Every German Embassy is a potential centre of Fifth Column mobilisation, every German Consulate is an armoury, a danger spot, the privileged stable of a Trojan horse. It is not the crook who is the real danger; it is the kindly, industrious, trustworthy business man, the professor, mechanic, gone nationally insane because his instincts of right and wrong have been methodically perverted.”³

¹ *Action Française*, 15 Jan. 1915.

² *Germany Unmasked*, pp. 15-16.

³ J. Hambro, *I Saw it Happen in Norway*, London, 1940.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Those words are strikingly reminiscent of those of Bainville.

Finally, we may recall the warning against Fifth Column agents which President Roosevelt addressed to the citizens of the United States on 29 December 1940:

"Their secret emissaries are active in our own and neighbouring countries. They seek to stir up suspicion and dissension, to cause internal strife. They try to turn Capital against Labour and vice versa.

"They try to reawaken long-slumbering racial and religious enmities, which should have no place in this decade. They exploit for their own ends our old, natural abhorrence of war.

"These treble traitors have but one purpose: it is to divide our people, to divide them into hostile groups and to destroy our unity, and to shatter our will to defend ourselves."

. . . Many think, in good faith, that the German nation acted in 1914 under the terror of Wilhelm II, the higher military clique and the Prussian Junkers, and in 1939 under the terror of Hitler and the leaders of the National-Socialist Party. How do these people reconcile their conviction with the fact that now, during the present war, Germans residing in the countries attacked by Hitler or in neutral states as a national minority, or who emigrated from Germany proper and took up their domicile abroad, enter so willingly and in such great numbers in the ranks of the so-called "Fifth Column"? The Germans abroad were free to act as they liked—they were not subjected to the pressure of the Gestapo as were their compatriots living in the Reich. And yet, even in the far United States and in Latin America, many German emigrants work for Hitler. Is it not that they identify Hitler with Germany and deem it their patriotic duty to help the Reich in its drive for hegemony? . . .

WE are still far from reaching the summit of the unity movement. . . . And our thoughts are now occupied with our racial comrades separated from us on the other side of the Reich frontiers, Germans who are separated from us unwillingly. In the blossoming and prosperity of an already long-lasting peace we dare not forget the struggle that some day must come. For we still lack certain things which, like the unity of the Reich formerly, will be won by fighting: an all-German State, and room for the German people of the future to develop. Arndt's words, 'My fatherland must be greater', still hold good.

RUDOLF GÖTTE, *Deutscher Volksgeist*, 1898,
pp. 95 ff. Bibl. II, 22, pp. 201 ff.

THE number of Germans in the United States amounts to nearly twenty millions, but many of them have lost their native language or their German names. Nevertheless, German blood flows in their veins, and it is only necessary to gather them together under their former nationality in order to bring them back into the lap of their mother Germania. The German volunteers will, of course, have to pay the heaviest blood tax in the war, as they alone form the warlike element of the army. The promiscuous mob of Englishmen, half-breeds, Irish and negroes is too incoherent and too unmilitary to show any soldierly qualities. Nevertheless, Germanism has to take a back place in the army, and the generals' ranks are almost exclusively in the hands of Englishmen.

We have to consider that more than three million Germans live as foreigners in the United States, not personally interested in that country. A skilful German national policy should be able to manipulate that German multitude against the shameless war-speculators.

Grenzboten, 5 May 1898.

ALL around our frontiers dwell many millions of Germans, and it must be our natural endeavour to draw these back again to us.

Deutschland bei Beginn des XX. Jahrhunderts. 1900.
Bibl. II, 13, p. 189.

THE Empire is hardly equipped to protect the unity of faith among emigrated Germans; it is for the Churches of the mother country to take the initiative in this regard. One knows that the Evangelical Church acquits itself of this task more and more perfectly. Here we must specially mention the 'Gustav Adolf Society', founded in 1842.

Destined to sustain the co-religionists of all the evangelical groupings isolated in Catholic or pagan countries, since the foundation of the Empire this Society has not ceased to extend its activity to the entire world,—which activity was at first restricted to narrow spheres. Beside this society a whole pleiad of smaller societies, for the most part local, have been and still are active. The general statistics of the German Protestants abroad, which are an indispensable basis for all systematic corporate action, are also steadily developing; since 1901 a special *Deutsch-Evangelisch Revue* (German Evangelical Review), destined to inform and sustain the Protestants scattered abroad, has been appearing, on behalf of the Synod of La Plata, Pastor Bursmann of the evangelical German community at Buenos Ayres. If, as certain premonitory signs indicate, success is achieved in provoking common action by the home churches in the interests of those scattered abroad, the cycle of primordial duties which are imposed on the Evangelical churches will have been accomplished. But the German Catholics have not been lagging, although the activity of the Society of St. Boniface, founded in 1849, too restricted to German Catholics isolated in Protestant countries, that of the St. Raphael Society for emigrants, the Society of Palestine, and others of the same kind, cannot be compared with that of the Gustav Adolf Society. One special difficulty arises from the fact that in the Levant and the Far East France still claims to extend her protectorate over all Catholics. It is here that the Reich can intervene and give the Church efficacious assistance, as it has already done in part.

But is there, besides or even above the bond which is constituted by community of religion and of legislation, a more important bond than that of language? As German emigration has developed, patriots have turned all their efforts in this direction. The 1846 Congress of Germanists, the intellectual and scientific precursor of the political movement of 1848, was already preoccupied with German emigrants to America 'who, for the past ten years, have been crossing the sea in uninterrupted swarms', and the question was asked how these emigrants were to be assured the preservation of their mother tongue and a living contact with the mother country; thus the idealist anxiety to protect Germanism abroad had begun—at least in intention—long before the material era of the spirit of enterprise. Already at this period it was thought possible to achieve these ends by founding the Charlemagne Association or the Barbarossa Association for maintaining Germanism abroad. One institution of this

kind, but more restricted, was founded only in 1881, after various attempts, in the form of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Schulverein* (General German School Union), now the *Verein für das Deutschtum in Auslande* (Union for Germanism Abroad). Its review, now devoted to the double duty of developing the German school and German industry abroad, is filled with reports of the movement, which is continually growing. We must content ourselves with adding that since 1891 the Pangermanist League has co-operated in this work by the publication of the *Alldeutsche Blätter* (All-German Newspaper) and has not ceased to act vigorously, by word and deed, even to the point of winning the official support of the Reich. To understand how much the general and powerful need to be informed on the subject has grown in public opinion, as it is informed on the subject of the Churches of the Dispersion, we recall the very favourable welcome given to the new review *Deutsche Erde* (German Earth) founded in 1902, which is devoted to making known the destiny of the German race abroad.

KARL LAMPRECHT. 1913. Bibl. VIII, B. 52, Vol. 2,
p. 502.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PAN-GERMAN LEAGUE

(Extract)

I. PURPOSE

1. The Pan-German League strives to quicken the national sentiment of Germans and in particular to awaken and foster the racial and cultural homogeneity (*Zusammengehörigkeit*) of all sections of the German people.
2. These aims imply that the Pan-German League works for:
 - (1) Preservation of the German *Volkstum* in Europe and oversea and its support whenever it is threatened.
 - (2) Settlement of all cultural, educational and school problems in ways that shall aid the German *Volkstum*.
 - (3) The combating of all forces which check the German national development.
 - (4) An active policy of furthering German interests in the whole world, in particular continuance of the German colonial movement to practical results.
3. The League pursues its aims through:
 - (a) Club activities along the lines provided for in its consti-

tution. In countries outside Germany the members may work under different plans and for special ends, but only with the approval of the League's executive.

(b) The publication of a periodical, the *Alldeutsche Blätter*.

II. MEMBERSHIP

4. Every German may become a member of the League without regard to his citizenship, if he is in agreement with the purposes of the League. . . .
6. Clubs of Germans may become members of the League as units. The conditions of their joining must be acceptable to the Executive Committee of the League.
7. Anyone who has done especially meritorious work in the service either of the League or of *Deutschtum*, may be elected to honorary membership. Honorary members are not required to pay dues. . . .
10. Resignation from the League and the stopping of subscriptions to the *Alldeutsche Blätter* must be in writing. Resignations take effect at the expiration of the year in which they are made.
11. Members who act against the ideals of the League may be called upon to resign. . . .

ALL vigorously aspiring peoples manifest the natural phenomenon that they export a part of their superfluous labour power, since either the homeland soil is not spacious enough, or the homeland living relationships are unfavourable.

Colonial and emigration policies go hand in hand.

On the basis of the above considerations we arrive at the following demands:

3. German emigration is to be systematically influenced so that it is directed away from North America and to the German colonies as well as to Southern Brazil and the Argentine, and generally to wherever there are compact German settlement areas. For this purpose larger State resources are to be applied. The present emigration information bureau in Berlin is not sufficient.

5. The support of Germandom abroad must be made one of the main tasks of the German diplomatic representatives in each area. No one is ready to see our people lost, for every German-speaking

individual increases the might of the German folkdom and is one more security for its future development.

Germandom abroad is still to-day our best, strongest and most important colony; it is one of the most remunerative tasks of the present-day German statecraft to fashion out of this Germandom abroad the greatest possible national utility.

6. We reckon to have sixty million souls in the German Reich, and close on thirty million German-speaking individuals abroad. This mighty mass, bound together by blood and speech, must be united through ethical, literary and economic interests and become always more intrinsically compact. Thus must the 'greater German Reich' be built of which our Kaiser spoke as long ago as 1896.

. . . If all Germans are first convinced of the truth and importance of this matter . . . then will . . . the self-consciousness and national pride also reign in us which our people has so long lacked. And then will the German people assume the place among other nations which by their intrinsic worth has long been their due.

GENERAL E. VON LIEBERT,¹ 1910. Bibl. III, 40, pp. 303 ff.

COLONIAL and emigration policy go hand in hand. . . .

The above considerations lead us to the following demands:— . . .

3. German emigration must be systematically influenced in order to deflect it from North America and direct it towards German colonies such as Southern Brazil and the Argentine, and generally towards any place where there are closed German settlements. Large government funds should be applied to this. The present emigration inquiry bureau in Berlin is inadequate. . . .

5. The preservation of bodies of Germans (*Deutschtum*) abroad must be one of the principal tasks of the German diplomatic representatives in those territories. Not a soul must be lost to our nation; for every German-speaking individual increases the power of the German nation and represents one more guarantee for the future development thereof.

The Germans abroad to-day represent our best, strongest and most important colony; it is one of the most profitable tasks of present German statecraft to extract the greatest possible national profit from these Germans abroad.

¹ Eduard von Liebert (1850-); joined German General Staff in 1881; 1897-1900 Governor-General of German East Africa; General in 1914-18 war; Member of the Council of the All-Deutscher Verband and founder of the Central German Organization against Social Democracy; member of National-Socialist Party.

6. We reckon 60 million souls in the German Reich, and approximately 30 million German-speaking people abroad. This colossal mass, linked by ties of blood and language, must be bound together and ever more intimately embraced by ethical, literary and economic interests. That is how "the Greater German Reich", of which our Emperor spoke as early as 1896, must be formed.

. . . When all Germans are convinced of the truth and importance of these principles . . . then . . . there will be a stirring of that self-consciousness and national pride which is as yet absent in our people. Then the German people will occupy among the other nations the place that is due to them by virtue of their inner worth.

GENERAL E. VON LIEBERT. 1910. Bibl. VI, 36.
pp. 303 ff.

HOWEVER, whatever the reason, the activity of the Germans abroad, which is now beginning to affect America's present position as a non-neutral 'neutral', is a good and successful activity. Let us hope that the Germans and the Irish . . . will make it impossible for America to go on stoking up and prolonging the war through her consignments of munitions to our enemies.

C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT. 1915. Bibl. VIII, B. 57, p. 24.

WE have not only colonies in the colloquial sense of the word—we also have colonies in foreign countries, large and small groups of Germans who, by the most persevering toil, have created bases for the German people all over the world.

L. NIESSEN-DEITERS. 1915. Bibl. II, 8 (no. 27), p. 29.

WE can have only one aim: Germany must emerge from this war greater and stronger. Germany must be so strong that all stocks of the German breed, if not included in the German Reich, must yet be attached to it for all time.

ROBERT VON PILOTY.¹ 1915. Bibl. VIII, D. 149.

APART from Austria there is scarcely a country where the conditions are so naturally favourable for lasting friendly relations with us as in North America. There are some 10 million Germans living in the United States. Since the formation of the *Deutsch-Amerikanischer*

¹ Robert von Piloty (1863-1926), jurist; Professor of State Administration and International Law at Munich and Würzburg; member of the Alliance for International Understanding and the International Committee for Social Insurance.

Nationalbund in the year 1901, they have been increasingly endeavouring, while maintaining complete loyalty towards their new Fatherland, to preserve and revive the connection with the old German homeland.

ERNST VON BÜLOW. 1916. Bibl. IX, 17, p. 49.

PAN-GERMAN IMPERIALISM was invented and attributed to us by others, but, as the designation shows, its aim was only a national, ethnographic one—designed to embrace all the Germans in the world.

SARTORIUS VON WALTERSHAUSEN. 1920. Bibl. VIII,
D. 158, p. 424.

WE are not only a people without room, but also in the opposite sense: the territory on which sixty-two million German-speaking peoples live is a room without a people. To place a people in this empty room is the internal political mission of National Socialism; to create the room for the coming hundred million Germans is the objective of National-Socialist foreign policy. . . .

ALFRED ROSENBERG. Speech to Nazi Party
Congress at Nuremberg, 19–21 Aug. 1927.
Bibl. I, 43, p. 56.

IN some countries our people form the majority (Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, German-Austria, Danzig), in others they live close to our frontiers (France, Denmark, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Italy). In Hitler's hand neither will these be forgotten nor the Germans in the colonies and overseas, but they will serve as a weapon against the enemies' lie, and at last return, after a struggle for freedom, into the Greater German Reich of Ideal Reality.

"NISS VOLKER", *Unser Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtum*, Munich, 1932, p. 52.

LOYALTY, discipline, and blind obedience are the foundation pillars of every branch of the National-Socialist movement. . . . The loose contact and the distance in miles between Party comrades abroad, even though the Organisation for Germans Abroad is a solid unit, render these three virtues more necessary than ever from those of us who are in foreign countries. . . . Therefore, we are doing right when we keep our organisation abroad free of all racial comrades who are not ready to adhere to the absolute discipline customary with us.

This is absolutely necessary for victory in the struggle for Germans living abroad.

ERNST WILHELM BOHLE.¹ Proclamation to Members of the Foreign Division of the N.S.D.A.P. *Mitteilungsblatt der Auslandsorganisation der National-Sozialistischen, Deutschen Arbeiter-Partei*, Hamburg, July 1934, no. 8.

You know as well as I do that the one great mistake of the former régime was in not keeping up the ties of blood which connect the Germans in their home country with the Germans abroad; in not having kept these ties alive and in not having used Germanism abroad politically, for the mutual benefit of both sections of Germanism. I consider it the special duty of the National Socialist State to rectify this mistake and to work out a common basis for co-operation between Germans in the Reich and Germans abroad. The new Germany needs and expects co-operation, spiritual and material willingness for sacrifice on the part of all her racial comrades abroad.

RUDOLF HESS, Speech at a meeting of German Foreign Trade Chambers, 28 June 1934.
Bibl. V, 38, p. 34.

FAITHFUL to the Führer's teaching, we must feel far more loyal to the very last fellow-German than to the King of a foreign country. . . . The voice of the blood in these people, who for the most part had become citizens of their host nation, must be made to ring forth ever more powerfully, and they must be enlightened beyond doubt that, according to the blood, they belong to us and to nobody else. . . . I have no doubt whatever that the Germans abroad are an instrument . . . on which the Führer is yet going to play a tremendous tune!

K. W. HUBL, Address at the IV Rally of Germans Abroad, Erlangen, 1936, *Fränkische Tageszeitung*, 5 Sept. 1936.

THE work of the Führer is responsible for the fact that we Germans all over the world are in a position to hold up our heads with pride. The many Germans abroad feel daily, not only in their hearts but also

¹ Ernst Wilhelm Bohle (1903-), politician; leader of Foreign Department of National-Socialist Party; Secretary of State and head of Foreign Department in Ministry for Foreign Affairs; member of Reichstag, 1933.

in their dealings with other people, what it means to be representatives of this Germanism and members of the National-Socialist Reich.

This certainty gives the Germans abroad strength, and places on them the duty of bringing forth their Germanism both ideally and practically, by personal contacts within their environment with self-evident loyalty to the home of their choice.

The fulfilment of these duties and this missionary work serves the nation at home as well as the new country in the understanding and clarification of the political connections of the erection and fostering of economic relationships.

In this way the Germans abroad become part of the great front for peace. The unification of all their forces is one of the most important tasks which calls for the joyous participation of all.

HERMANN GOERING. In: Foreword to 1937
Issue of *Wir Deutsche in der Welt*, Berlin,
p. 5.

. . . Our teachers will return to their schools abroad with new knowledge and deepened understanding of the essence of National Socialist education, and there they will educate the foreign German youth to be National Socialists, and the foreign youth—which also likes to attend German schools abroad—to be able members of their nations, and at the same time to be intelligent friends of Germanism.

B. EICHINGER, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 19 Aug.
1937.

THE Germans abroad are the Nature-appointed bearers of politico-economic, propagandist activities in foreign countries. . . . Ordinary, foreign contacts, based as they are on money and trade considerations, will always be exposed to variegated interference. Economic channels, however, that run through common blood and common race, will be practically immune.

DR. HESSE, *Die Wirtschaft als Bindeglied zwischen Heimat und Auslandsvolkstum*: In
"German Economic Yearbook", 1937, ed.
H. R. Fritzsche, p. 153.

NATION and State are not identical. Folkdom is much greater than citizenship in a country. Even if one gives up or is compelled to give up one's citizenship, one does not have to give up one's folkdom!

We therefore rightfully define as German all those of German descent and of German blood who live abroad. Thirty-five million

Germans live outside the German Reich's borders as German minorities in foreign countries. Therefore, we are not a nation of sixty-five million people; we are a nation of one hundred million!

German people on this side of the border, and German people on the other side of the border! These borders exist on the maps, but not in our hearts!

FRANZ FAHNEMANN, "Erlebte Deutsche Welt",
Arbeitsstoffe und Erzählungen für die
Deutsche Schule. N.S. Rheinfront. Bibl.
I, 24, p. 39.

AND these German-Americans, who for centuries have made only sacrifices for America, who have become the fertiliser for the culture of that country, who were too trusting and honest to mix in politics or to secure rights for themselves and for their folkdom, these Germans to-day are ready to enlist in the final struggle and to take their place in the political life of America, while preserving their national characteristics and their German *Weltanschauung* in order to exercise a determining influence on the new America.

Therefore the programme of the young German-Americans, no matter to what organisations or groups they may belong, is:

We want to bring the Germans in the United States, who in part have become alienated from the German fatherland and from the German nation, back to the great community of blood and fate of all Germans. To this end the spiritual regeneration of the Germans after the model of the homeland is necessary.

When we have attained this goal, we will organise the Germans in order to give them, after the completion of their spiritual regeneration, economic reinforcement and political schooling.

German-Americans, thus prepared, economically rejuvenated and politically active, shall then be used under our leadership in the coming struggle with Communism and Jewry in the reconstruction of America.

Stuttgarter NS.-Kurier, 12 Aug. 1937.

THE rearmament of Germany also serves the security of all Germans living abroad.

RUDOLF HESS, Speech at the Congress of the
League of Germans Abroad. *Völkischer*
Beobachter, 30 Aug. 1937.

WE National Socialists living abroad reject the concept of such a

cosmopolitan German, whose chief ambition is to assimilate with the people of the country in which he lives, because this cosmopolitan German not only makes himself ridiculous in the eyes of foreigners, but because he consciously or unconsciously denies his Germandom. We know only the concept of the complete German, who as a citizen of his country is always and everywhere a German and nothing but a German; this makes him a National Socialist.

ERNST WILHELM BOHLE, Speech at the aforesaid
Congress. *Westdeutscher Beobachter*,
Cologne, 30 Aug. 1937.

WE need the youth, which is able to see the vast expanse of the German world. This youth will never again speak of a "sixty-six million nation", just as no other nation to-day would voluntarily make itself smaller and deduct 30 million racial comrades because they live beyond the boundary-lines of the central state. Youth, considering itself as a responsible part of greater Germany, still knows how to differentiate in its definitions, within the hundred-million nation, between German citizens within Germany and German citizens abroad (*Auslandreichsdeutsche*) and other Germans abroad. But at the same time they will admit that blood is stronger than a passport! We do not wish to and we will not say "Germany" any more, when we mean the German Reich in the sense of the Treaty of Versailles. Germany is for us a great conception which must first and foremost be achieved spiritually.

In contrast to most of the neighbouring states which have more citizens than racial comrades, we have a greater number of racial comrades than citizens. Even if the states are interested in calling the total of the citizens "nation", we must formulate our mode of thinking and our definitions in such a way that they will conform with our whole nation's right of survival. This would be done in concurrence with the true interests of Central Europe. Whoever propagates alien ideas of the state in our country, strangles, as an accomplice of foreign powers, the basic conception of nation, and sins against all Germans.

Thus we shall exterminate at its root the linguistic definition which speaks of the "Austrian brother nation", because a brother nation does not exist in Austria, in Memel, in Danzig, etc., for there is only one German nation which may be forced to live in different states or under special political conditions. Never again shall we

call a foreign city with German inhabitants by an alien name; Bozen is not an "Italian city" but a German city in Italy, Eger is not a "Czech" or "Czechoslovak" city but a German city in Czechoslovakia, etc. We will never call German people who are citizens of foreign countries aliens, but racial comrades! German people will always remain our racial comrades even if foreign citizenship is forced upon them, just as members of an alien race can never become German racial comrades by means of conversion. We will always remember that we, Germans, are not only citizens of the largest German state, of the German Reich, but that we are also racial comrades of more than 30 million Germans outside our borders.

FRIEDRICH LANGE. 1937. Bibl. VIII, E. 10, p. 8.

THE new Germany needs and expects the co-operation, the spiritual and material readiness for sacrifice of all its national brothers abroad. Their positive co-operation will be incorporated into the great German Folk Community.

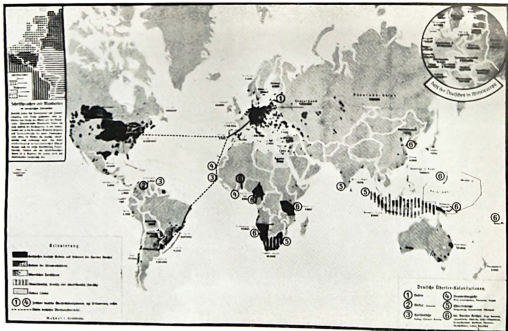
RUDOLF HESS. 1938. Bibl. V, 86, p. 34.

IN view of the heated struggle for the South and Central American markets, which has been going on for some time past and is bound to play a bigger part yet in world economy, it is Germany's decisive advantage over Britain and North America that she can rely on a strong German element in those countries.

DR. FRANZ THIERFELDER, *Die Wirtschaftliche Bedeutung des Auslandsdeutschtums*, no. 1 of a series entitled "Wirtschaftlich-Soziale Weltfragen", ed. Dr. E. Schulze, Prof. of Economics at Leipzig University, Stuttgart, 1939, p. 29.

A GATHERING of representatives of foreign Germans had concluded its work with an excursion to Danzig. The majority were my guests. I had to welcome them. This was done, in contrast with Hitler, with the words that only a National Socialism adapted to the special circumstances of the foreign Germans was possible outside the Reich. I spoke of the hope of a "sublimated" National Socialism.

HERMANN RAUSCHNING. 1940. Bibl. V, 137, pp. 139-40.



GERMAN FOLKDOM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD
By Dr. Friedrich Lange

ALL of you have deserved our thanks for the exemplary attitude you have shown in the past year.¹

Now a new task awaits you. You have learned to understand this people and you must therefore act as mediators between the German and Dutch people.

You have earned your place among this people, and it is your right to live in their midst. You must realise, however, that every one of you is a personal representative of the German Reich and the bearer of the will of the Führer.

ARTUR VON SEYSS-INQUART,² Reich Commissar,
Speech to the Fifth Column of German
residents in Holland, June 1940. Netherlands Press Agency, Vol. i, pp. 3-4.

WHEN the German *Auslandswissenschaftliche Institut* began three months ago to send out invitation cards all over the world to a course on *Das Reich*, and when, in the German foreign broadcasts, the programme of this course was made known, the organisers were aware that they were making an experiment. . . . Considering these fears, the response to the appeal was surprising even to optimists. About 260 participants came, i.e. 60 more than at the last course. . . . 34 countries were represented. . . . Not a single one of the States of Europe was unrepresented, but several overseas countries also sent delegations: Japan, Peru, U.S.A. (with 15 participants), India and Iran. Looking through the lists of those attending, it is evident that only a small number are students. The majority are persons who already have some position in the public life of their country. . . .

This course will enable all those who attended it to follow coming events with understanding and to take a prominent part in their own country in adapting themselves to the necessities of the future. They are proud to be among the first who at the beginning of the reorganisation of Europe have made themselves familiar, in Europe's centre of

¹ This compliment was paid by Seyss-Inquart to the Nazi organisation of German residents in the Netherlands, who have used Dutch hospitality to prepare and assist in the German invasion of Holland.

² Artur von Seyss-Inquart (1892-), politician and lawyer; Minister of Interior and Security in reconstructed Cabinet of Dr. Schuschnigg (Austria) Feb.-March 1938; Chancellor and Minister of Defence after German occupation of Austria, 1938; Governor of Austrian Territory; Minister without Portfolio in German Government, 1939; Deputy Governor of Occupied German Territory, Poland, 1939; Reich Commissioner for Netherlands, 1940.

energy, with all the questions which will be of importance in the coming months, and have perceived correctly the signs of the times.

Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Berlin, 20 Oct.
1940.

... This day gives me an opportunity to look back briefly on the beginning and development of National-Socialist foreign-Germanism in the Netherlands. I do this with all the greater satisfaction because I know with what sacrificial spirit, sense of duty and enthusiasm you, my Party comrades and political leaders, have shaped and established this National-Socialist foreign-Germanism by years of hard work. The struggle by the National-Socialist movement for Germanism in the Netherlands began nine years ago. At first there were small local groups or centres in Amsterdam, Groningen, Rotterdam, The Hague, Waubach, Eindhoven and Haarlem, which provided the basis for the formation of national groups in the year 1933. From then on development, after the formation of the first national groups, through the *Reichsdeutsche Gemeinschaft* to the national group of the war year 1940, shows a steep ascent, of which all who collaborated therein may truly be proud. It is not possible to mention here the names of all the political leaders who as leaders of Germanism in their districts, towns and villages fought for the creation of a National-Socialist community, as otherwise it would be necessary to read out a list of many hundreds of Party comrades, both men and women.

... Here in the Netherlands there was exactly the same picture as everywhere else in the world where there are foreign-Germans. It is good to recall always the sacrificial spirit and devotion which the old Party comrades had to display in bringing the greater part of our German countrymen to the inner conviction that the National-Socialist philosophy constituted the only basis of a real unification of all Germans. Here again our old warriors had to form a front against many who had remained stuck in the old view and could not or would not see that National Socialism alone was in a position to make an end of individualism and the campaign of incitement and thereby produce objective unity among the Germans.

... Deluded and incited by a lying international propaganda, it was not grasped that it was one of the natural rights of a sovereign people to care for its citizens abroad in the spirit of the new philosophy which had become common property in the homeland. This same propaganda of an international clique which persecutes the present

Greater German Reich, a Power of the first rank, with blind hatred, succeeded in this country also in ensuring that our countrymen should be tyrannised over and threatened, despite their observance of the order not to mix in the internal politics of the country. It was stout hearts and a deep faith in the Führer and his historic mission which alone rendered resistance possible until, in May 1940, the historic turn of events entitled our Reich Germans in the Netherlands to declare themselves freely and openly as National Socialists and loyal countrymen of Adolf Hitler. . . .

. . . The work could succeed only on the basis of very close co-operation between the decent Germans, who were thinking chiefly not of themselves but of the community and acted accordingly. I would like to bring into special relief the work of an association which by its nature figures but little publicly, but has in its quiet way achieved exemplary results—National-Socialist womanhood . . . What it meant to hundreds of our soldiers after the invasion to be cared for and looked after in all respects by German women, those comrades of the Forces know best. Our women have done far more than their duty. The German woman in the Netherlands has, during the last few years, and particularly during the last few months, shown an exemplary attitude of which we are all entitled to be proud. Reich German youth in the Netherlands is numerically the strongest in Europe, and their spirit is such that it constitutes a guarantee that the future leadership in the Germanism of the Netherlands will continue unswervingly the work of the fathers and mothers. This youth must in all their actions prove to be worthy of the period of struggle, and I know that it will be so. The German Labour Front of the AO in the Netherlands can also look back upon years of successful activity.

There are 11,000 members in the Labour Front of the organisation of working Germans in the Netherlands who have achieved infinitely beneficial and sometimes exemplary results.

. . . In the sphere of cultural work and film activity the Party has achieved excellent results. I recall the many lectures and visiting performances organised partly for Netherland circles and would also like to recall that in the year 1939 alone there were 233 film shows. This cultural work has contributed and will contribute substantially to the work of calling attention to the racial kinship among the Netherland people. It depends on the German countrymen who as a reward of years and even decades of residence in this country are

particularly suited to deepen the understanding between the Netherlands and the German peoples. . . .

The comradeship of their collaboration with our Forces, the assistance in matters of provisioning, in the care of the wounded and in the care of the war graves, will be an enduring memory of a great time to all. . . .

WILHELM BOHLE, extracts from a Speech on the occasion of the formal handing over of the national group of the Foreign Organization of the National-Socialist Party in the Netherlands on 27 Oct. 1940.

CHAPTER V

HOW GERMANY MAKES WAR

O my brothers, I raise above you this new law: BECOME HARD!

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE.



1914-1915

THE FRENCH VILLAGE OF AUTE AFTER THE
GERMAN INVASION OF FRANCE



1939

THE POLISH VILLAGE OF GARWOLIN AFTER
THE GERMAN INVASION OF POLAND

SSSED HERE



1940

ROTTERDAM, AFTER THE GERMAN INVASION
OF HOLLAND



1940

COVENTRY, AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT BY
THE *LUFTHAFTE*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In the four preceding chapters the reader has been made acquainted with German philosophy, or, as the Germans more correctly call it, their philosophic Weltanschauung, with the conception of the Nation of 'Rulers', and the cognate idea of Lebensraum. We now turn to a sphere better known to the Western European reader, namely, the methods by which Germany wages war. This and the last chapter might well be jointly called 'German Thought Translated into Action'. Translated into action that thought is still more terrible than when it remains pure theory. It is stamped with the same brutality, the same lack of scruple, and the same disregard of other nations. The civilian population of Belgium and Northern France in the years 1914 to 1918 could have given the finest testimony to the truth, for these occupied areas were shown the Germans' real features. The same period will provide the British and American public with memories of the fate of unarmed people sunk in the Atlantic without warning by German U-boats.

During the present war still more terrible testimony to the truth can be given by the civilian populations of Poland, Czecho-slovakia, Holland, Belgium, France, and the bombed British towns and cities. If the unarmed civilian population murdered by young German airmen could rise from their graves and cry out not for vengeance, but for justice, would not their voices drown all those which are raised in a plea for pity on the German nation 'terrorised' by Hitler? At whose hands have fifty thousand people perished in Warsaw and tens of thousands in Rotterdam? By whom were thousands of civilian refugees, old men, women, and children, machine-gunned as they crowded along the roads of Poland, Belgium, and France? Who are raining bombs on London and other British cities? Who fired torpedoes to sink ships carrying British children across the Atlantic to safety? Are not all these men members of the 'drab mass' of Germans, who thus for the second time in twenty-five years are practising the teaching on which they have been nurtured for the past hundred years?

Both this chapter and Chapter VII could be expanded to encyclopaedic dimensions. We wish to select only a small part of the material available, if only to preserve the balance of our book.

HOW GERMANY MAKES WAR

... War knows of only one method: force. There is no other; it is destruction, wounds, death, and this employment of brute force is an absolute rule. As to international law, which all the lawyers are so full of, it imposes on the object and the law of war only insignificant restrictions; in effect, none whatever.

GENERAL KARL VON CLAUSEWITZ (died in 1831).

Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 94.

ALL idea of philanthropy in war is a pernicious error; he who employs physical force to its full extent, without sparing blood, always gains the preponderance over the adversary who will not act in the same way, and he will dictate the law to the latter.

GENERAL KARL VON CLAUSEWITZ. Bibl., *ibid*.

... If a State is not in a position to defend its neutrality, it is idle to talk of that neutrality.

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE. Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 34.

THE essence of war demands that in it the rule of violence should be given greater room for play, and, therefore, to bring this violence to bear with ruthless energy in order to achieve the object of the war as quickly as possible corresponds with the interests of the State, and in so far as it thus accelerates the decision and the war is shortened, it also corresponds with the demands of humanity.

WILHELM VON BLUME. 1882. Bibl. VIII, D. 17
(cf. VIII, D. 1, p. 38).

THE distress and injury of the enemy are indispensable prerequisites to the bending and breaking of his will. They find their indisputable justification in their influence on this latter, immediately they are in a position to demand the prosecution of an appointed, previously indicated war aim; they appear as a result of a culpable barbarism only if they should be called forth without such an aim, or if they remain out of all relation to that aim. Apparent harshness and severity become the opposite if they destroy the opponent's determination to demand peace and bring it about. Forbearance and mildness operate as cruelty if they let the war aim slip away and delay the conclusion of the war.

GENERAL JOSEPH VON HARTMANN. 1887.

Bibl. VI, 25 (cf. VIII, D. 1, p. 38).

... After taking leave of the representatives of the Reichstag the Kaiser held out his hand to the famous professor of law at Strassburg University, Dr. van Calker. The Kaiser looked steadily at Professor van Calker for a moment, then, after the handshake, clenched his fist and struck it downwards, uttering these words: "Nun aber wollen wir sie dreschen!" ("Now we will jolly well thrash them!"), nodded to the professor and walked away.¹

Tägliche Rundschau, 5 Aug. 1914.

... Every means will be enthusiastically employed by the German people against its enemies. We will go back to the times of savagery when man was a wolf to his fellow-man.

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN, *Zukunft*, Nov. 1914.

THE road from Aix-la-Chapelle to Liège is one long, sad line of desolation. Otherwise the district is fertile; now, however, sadness and devastation reign supreme. Nearly every second house is a heap of ruins, while the houses which are still standing are empty and deserted.

On every side signs of destruction, furniture and house utensils lie around, not a pane of glass but is broken. Still the inhabitants themselves are to blame, for have they not shot at our poor, tired soldiers?

H. KUNTZ. 1915. *Bibl.* IX, 91, p. 13 (cf. I, 45, p. 168).

No object whatever is served by taking any notice of the accusations of barbarity levelled against Germany by our foreign critics. Frankly, we are and must be barbarians, if by this we understand those who wage war relentlessly and to the uttermost degree.

It is incompatible with the dignity of the German Empire and with the proud traditions of the Prussian Army to defend our courageous soldiers from the accusations hurled against them in foreign and neutral countries. We owe no explanations to any one. There is nothing for us to justify and nothing to explain away. Every act of whatever nature committed by our troops for the purpose of discouraging, defeating, and destroying our enemies is a brave act and a good deed, and is fully justified.

There is no reason whatever why we should trouble ourselves

¹ The above-mentioned utterance of the Kaiser has since become a common theme for composition exercises in German schools.

about the notions held concerning us in other countries. Certainly we should not worry about the opinions and feelings held in neutral countries. Germany stands as the supreme arbiter of her own methods, which in the time of war must be dictated to the world.

... They call us barbarians. What of it? We scorn them and their abuse. For my part, I hope that in this war we have merited the title of barbarians. Let neutral peoples and our enemies cease their empty chatter, which may well be compared to the twitter of birds. Let them cease their talk of the cathedral at Rheims and of all the churches and all the castles in France which have shared its fate. These things do not interest us. Our troops must achieve victory. What else matters?

MAJOR-GENERAL VON DITFURTH. Bibl. I, 13,
pp. 81-3.

... There shall be no peace until the three mischief-plotters who would not let Europe rest are completely subjugated. We want peace and safety for ourselves in order to be able to guarantee them for others. We wish to carry on untiringly our work of culture and peace.

We have nothing to apologise for. We are no bully State. We threaten no one so long as we are not attacked. We do good deeds to all people. Louvain was not destroyed—only the houses of murderers. The cathedral of Rheims is not destroyed; the French caused the damage.

England acts in politics as if we lived in the eighteenth century. Germany has taught the world how to carry on war and politics in a conscientious and proper manner. England will come to nought; France can still be saved, let us hope, but Russia must no longer be on our frontier. This time we will have a clean slate.

ADOLF LASSON, Letter to a friend in Holland.
Special Cable of *Daily Chronicle* to the
New York Times, 28 Oct. 1914.

[*Editorial note.*—In reply to a letter written to Gerhart Hauptmann by Romain Rolland, the French author, reproaching him with the warfare carried on by the Germans against the historic monuments of Belgium and France, and begging him to declare his disapproval of the destruction of Louvain, Gerhart Hauptmann, the poet and one of the leaders of German thought, wrote a letter of resentment of

what the Germans consider misrepresentation of the causes of the war in foreign lands and of deep conviction of the justice of the German cause.

The letter, which appeared in the *Vossische Zeitung*, read in part as follows:]

... Naturally, everything you say of our Government, our army, our people, is distorted; everything is false; so false that in this respect your open letter seems to me a blank and empty surface. War is war. You may lament over war, but must not wonder at things which are inseparable from this elemental consideration. Assuredly, it is tragic when, in the hand-to-hand confusion of conflict, an irreplaceable Rubens is destroyed; but—with all honour to Rubens—I am of those in whom the shattered breast of his brother compels a far deeper pain.

And, Herr Rolland, it does no good for you to adopt a tone that implies that the people of your land, the French, are marching out against us with palm branches, when in reality they are plentifully furnished with cannon, with cartridges—yes, even with dum-dum bullets. Certainly you have grown fearful of our heroic armies. That is to the glory of a power which is invincible through the justice of its cause. The German soldier is unsullied by the loathsome and puerile were-wolf tales which your lying French Press so zealously spreads abroad, that Press which the French and the Belgian people have the misfortune to read.

Let the lazy Englishman call us “Huns”; you may, for all I care, characterise the warriors of our splendid Landwehr as “sons of Attila”; it is enough for us if this Landwehr shatters to bits the ring of our merciless enemies. Far better that you call us “sons of Attila”, cross yourself in fear, and remain outside our borders, than that you indict tender inscriptions upon the tomb of our German name, calling us “the beloved descendants of Goethe”. The epithet “Huns” is coined by people who, themselves Huns, find themselves disappointed in their criminal attacks on the life of a sound, valorous race, because this race knows how to parry a fearful blow with still more fearful force. The impotent take refuge in curses.

I say nothing against the Belgian people. The peaceful passage of German troops, a question of life and death for Germany, was refused by Belgium because its Government had made itself a tool of England and France. This same Government then organised an unparalleled guerrilla warfare, in order to cover its indefensible position, and by that act—Herr Rolland, you are a musician!—struck

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the horrible keynote of conflict. If you are at all in a position to break your way through the giants' wall of anti-German lies, read the message to America by our Imperial Chancellor, of September 7; read further the telegram which on September 8 the Kaiser himself addressed to President Wilson. You will then discover things which it is necessary to know in order to understand the calamity of Louvain.

GERHART HAUPTMANN,¹ *New York Times*,
11 Oct. 1914.

... This undesired war that has been forced upon us is nevertheless a necessity, it had to come to pass for the sake of Germany and the world of European humanity, for the sake of the world. We did not want it, but it came from God. Our poet knew of it. He saw this war and its necessity and its virtues, and heralded it, long before an ugly suspicion of it flew through the year,—before the leaves began to turn. The *Stern des Bundes* ("Star of the Federation") is this book of prophecy, this book of necessity and of triumph.

The present need and the present triumph are quite human and quite inexorable. They have a part in all that has taken place, and they are unprecedented and new. None of us—do you hear, Rolland?—none of us Germans to-day would hesitate to help destroy every monument of our holy German past, if necessity made it a matter of the last ditch, for that from which alone all monuments of all times draw their right to existence and their worth, unless they are empty husks, skeletons, and framework; even so we alone may ask what shall come to pass, not what shall cease. Which ruins are ravings and which are the pains of childbirth, we do not presume to decide; but you, too, who are so pained by ruins, even as we are pained by them—you, too, do not know it.

To-day it is a question of the life or death of the European Soul. Do you not believe that this Soul is more endangered at the hands of the hordes of snub-nosed Slavs than of the phalanx of those whom you, Rolland, call 'Huns'? Your sense must give you the right to answer. Recall the terrible story of Russian incendiarism for the last hundred years, which has torn to pieces in ever-increasing lust for murder bodies and souls; recall the eternally perjured and law-defying regiment of gravediggers; and then blush that you have characterised as a heavy crime a manfully confessed act of self-defence

¹ Gerhart Hauptmann (1862–), novelist, dramatist, poet and short-story writer; Nobel Prize for Literature, 1912.

on the part of the Germans, the temporary occupation of Belgium! Blush that you have forgotten the Russian Moloch now loosed upon us, drunk with the blood and tears of alien peoples as well as of its own children! That you have forgotten all that, in order to lament over buildings which we have been forced in self-defence—again, in self-defence—to sacrifice! And blush for those of your people, who have become accomplices of that Moloch! Those who are sinning against the Holy Ghost of Europe, in order to attempt belated vengeance against Germany! Do you know what the ancients, the very Greeks and Romans from whom you have drawn your blood and temperament, called that sin? Blood-guiltiness is the name of that horror. And do you know how it is atoned for? I shrink to ask further, yea, even to think further; for horror falls upon me and I see the unspeakable.

To-day, battling against you allies of the swarms of Muscovites, we Europeans are battling also for that France which you are threatening—you, not we!

KARL WOLFKEHL (German poet) in: *New York Times*,
14 Oct. 1914.

WE must conquer, at all costs. Respect for works of art is only a secondary question, and it even disappears entirely when our victory is at stake. That is the sense in which we are and wish to be barbarians. For us, that is what we call being humane.

THEOBALD ZIEGLER.¹ Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 42.

THE country is suffering. Lodz is starving. That is deplorable, but it is good. One does not make war sentimentally. The more pitilessly war is waged, the more is it fundamentally humane; for it will come to an end so much the quicker. The methods of war which bring peace most quickly are and remain the most humane methods.

FIELD-MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG. 1915.
Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 131.

ANYONE attempting to leave the town, by night or day, under any pretext whatever, will be shot.

Potatoes may be dug up only by special permission of the Commandant and under military supervision.

¹ Theobald Ziegler (1846–1918), philosopher; Professor at Strassburg University, 1886–1911.

HOW GERMANY MAKES WAR

. . . The German troops, whether sentries or patrols, have received orders to execute these provisions strictly, and are authorised to fire on anyone failing to observe them.

(Signed) GENERAL VON GOERINGER. 1914.
Extract of a Proclamation. Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 128.

ON Thursday, 6th August 1914, at 3.30 a.m., Zeppelin 6 returned from an air cruise over Belgium. The airship took a conspicuous part in the attack on Liège, and was able to intervene in a very successful manner. Our first bomb was dropped from a height of 1,800 feet, but failed to explode. The Zeppelin then sank to 900 feet above the town, and an officer member of the crew dropped twelve more bombs, all of which exploded, setting the town ablaze in several places.

Berliner Tageblatt, 10 Aug. 1914.

PROCLAMATION

THE Belgian and French soldiers must be handed over as prisoners of war before four o'clock, in front of the prison. Citizens who do not obey will be condemned to forced labour in perpetuity in Germany. The strict inspection of properties will begin at four o'clock. All soldiers found will be shot immediately.

Arms, powder, dynamite must be given up at four o'clock: Penalty: death.

All the streets will be occupied by German guards who will take ten hostages in each street. If any outrage is committed in any street, the ten hostages will be shot.

NAMUR, 25 August 1914.

GENERAL VON BÜLOW, General Commandant of
the Second Army. Bibl. I, 39 (a), p. 125.

WITH my permission the general in command has burnt down the entire locality and some hundred persons have been shot.

GENERAL VON BÜLOW, Proclamation posted up
at Liège on 22 Aug. 1914. Bibl., *ibid.*,
p. 125.

PROCLAMATION

IF any of the inhabitants fire on soldiers of the German army, one quarter of the population will be ordered to be shot.

HASSELT (BELGIUM), 17 *August* 1914.

German Proclamation posted up at Hasselt,
Belgium, 17 Aug. 1914. Bibl., *ibid.*,
p. 126.

THE town of Wavre will be fired and destroyed without regard to anyone if the payment of a contribution of three million francs is not made within the term specified. The innocent will suffer with the guilty!

GENERAL VON VIEBER, Letter to the Burgomaster
of Wavre, 27 Aug. 1914. Bibl., *ibid.*,
p. 125.

PROCLAMATION

ON the evening of 25 September, the railway line and telegraph between Lovenjoul and Vertryck were destroyed. In consequence, the two places mentioned had to render account for this on 30 September, and have had to deliver up hostages.

In future, the localities nearest to the spot where similar incidents occur—no matter whether they are accomplices or not—will be punished without mercy.

(Signed) FIELD-MARSHAL VON DER GOLTZ,¹
5 *October* 1914. Governor of Belgium.
Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 129.

ORDER OF THE DAY

FROM to-day onward, no prisoners will be taken. All prisoners will be put to death.

The wounded, with or without arms, will be put to death.

Prisoners, even when organised in large units, will be put to death. Not one living man must remain in our rear.

(Signed) STENGER, *General Commander of the*
58th German Army Brigade.

Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 129.

¹ Colmar, Baron von der Goltz (1843-1916); Prussian Field-Marshal and Turkish Pasha; Governor-General of Belgium, 1914; then Commander of the First Turkish Army. Writer on military subjects.

WE have all adopted the principle that the fault of a single individual must be expiated by the entire community to which he belongs. The village in which inhabitants have fired on our troops will be set on fire. If the guilty individual is not found, several representatives will be selected from among the population, and these will be executed under the rules of martial law. . . . The innocent must render expiation with the guilty, and if the latter cannot be named, the innocent must pay in their place, not because a crime has been committed, but to ensure that a crime is not committed in future. Each time a village is fired, hostages are executed, or the inhabitants of a community are decimated where arms have been taken up against the invading troops, these are warnings to the non-occupied territory. It may not be doubted that the fires of Battice, Herve, Louvain, Dinant have acted as warnings. The fires and the blood shed during the first few days of the war discouraged the great Belgian towns from outrages against the weak contingents with which we have been able to occupy them.

WALTER BLÖM, *Kölnische Zeitung*,
10 Feb. 1915.

. . . Once a war has broken out everything is at stake, for all war is a question of life or death. . . . It would be as feeble to show any consideration as it would be miserable to expect any.

ADOLF LASSON. *Bibl. VIII, A. 49, p. 56.*

. . . The principal gainful occupation of the inhabitants seems at present to be begging. In spite of their hostile glances the crowd did not hesitate to gather round as we entered the car, and quite a hundred greedy hands were stretched towards us for alms. But in Liège, without the shadow of a doubt the best thing of all was the magnificent Burgundy which we drank there. Perhaps we had never relished wine so much in our lives.

FRITZ MITTELMANN.¹ *Bibl. IX, 102A, p. 44.*

WE are not only compelled to accept the war that is forced upon us . . . but are even compelled to carry on this war with a cruelty, a ruthlessness, an employment of every imaginable device, unknown in any previous war.

PASTOR D. BAUMGARTEN. 1915. *Bibl. VII, 5, p. 7.*

¹ *Ed. note.*—Dr. F. Mittelmann was a personal friend of the Liberal Leader Herr Bassermann, who accompanied him on some of his journeys. See *Bibl. I, 45, p. 220.*

WHOEVER cannot prevail upon himself to approve from the bottom of his heart the sinking of the *Lusitania*—whoever cannot conquer his sense of the gigantic cruelty to unnumbered perfectly innocent victims . . .

. . . and give himself up to honest delight at this victorious exploit of German defensive power—him we judge to be no true German.

PASTOR D. BAUMGARTEN. 1915. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 7.

WE already possess probably several thousand aeroplanes, but we need *tens of thousands*. We need aeroplanes which fly to Germany and go from Germany like ants in an ant-hill, like bones between the trunk and the extremities; but each aeroplane must go with its two hundred or three hundred pounds of high explosive and come back empty. . . .

ROLAND EISENLOHR. 1915. Bibl. VI, 13, p. 35.

NEARLY the entire Reichstag, including the Social Democrats, agrees that we must not allow ourselves to be deprived of the weapon of the U-boat war.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Speech in Reichstag,
11 May 1918. Bibl. II, 11, Vol. 34,
p. 839.

WE are fighting for our existence. Hence we have Right on our side when we answer the British hunger blockade with the U-boat war.

EBERT,¹ Speech in Reichstag, 5 April 1916.
Bibl. II, 11, 1916, Vol. i, p. 730.

AFTER all, the money was spent on the submarines so that they should be used.

. . . We are using the U-boats so that our women and children should not die of starvation.

PHILIPP SCHEIDEMANN,² Speech in Reichstag,
6 April 1918. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 735.

. . . So far international agreements governing the application of this entirely new weapon [U-Boats.—Ed. note] in sea warfare are lacking. Therefore it is unthinkable that the application of this weapon should be regarded as a violation of international law.

PROF. BINDING. 1916. Bibl., *Lusitania*, VIII, D. 16.

¹ Friedrich Ebert (1871–1925); first President of the German Reich. By trade a saddler, became leader of the Social Democratic Party. Reichschancellor, 9 November 1918; President, 11 February 1919.

² See footnote, p. 133.

BUT the application of a weapon is determined by its nature, and the rules applied to the struggle with other weapons cannot be transferred unmodified to the new weapon. Just as, after the introduction of gunpowder and particularly of cannon, the rules of feudal times governing knightly combat could have no application to the use of firearms, and just as the struggle with airships cannot be governed by rules drawn from the days prior to their invention, so also the warlike employment of submarines is solely determined by their military purpose and their nature. The rules applied in sea warfare of former times governing the search for, the seizure and the destruction of shipping cannot have any application to the activities of submarines, since those rules do not apply to them in the least, and are impossible of application.

P. LABAND,¹ *op. cit.*, 2 Sept. 1916. Bibl.,
Lusitania, ibid.

As sea warfare changes, all the legal standards change of themselves. I consider it inaccurate to say that sea warfare must be adapted to the existing standards and not the standards to sea warfare.

JOSEPH KOHLER. 1916. Bibl., *Lusitania, ibid.*

OUR command has wished to create a kind of glacis against future battles. Thus, a large zone of devastation has been created which could be called the zone of war in every sense in which it is most pitiless. Flourishing villages are now represented only by a mass of smoking ruins. The magnificent trunks of the trees which line the French roads lay on the ground, partly cut down. The concrete standards of the electric cables were smashed down, the cables carried off, the fields turned over. The enemy will no longer find one roll of iron wire, not a blade of straw, not a bundle of fodder, not a spade, not a pitchfork, not a spring of water. He will find neither cannon, nor cartridges, nor rifles. Everything has been destroyed. Peronne and Bapaume are entirely destroyed. This destruction has been carried out to prevent the enemy finding the least shelter there.

HERR KALTSCHMIDT,² from *Frankfurter Zeitung*,
Bibl. I, 39 (g), pp. 22-3.

¹ Paul Laband (1838-1918), jurist; Professor of History of Law and of German Private Law at Königsberg and Strassburg, member of the Assembly in Alsace-Lorraine.

² Correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

DURING the War, propaganda was a means to an end. And this end was the struggle for existence of the German nation. Propaganda, therefore, should have been regarded from the standpoint of its utility for that purpose. The most cruel weapons were then the most humane, provided they helped towards a speedier decision; and only those methods were good and beautiful which helped towards securing the dignity and freedom of the nation. Such was the only possible attitude to adopt towards war propaganda in that life-or-death struggle.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 158.

LET us imagine the bloody battles of the world war not as having taken place on the Somme, in Flanders, in Artois, in front of Warsaw, Nizhny-Novgorod, Kovno, and Riga, but in Germany, in the Ruhr or on the Main, on the Elbe, in front of Hanover, Leipzig, Nürnberg, etc. If such happened, then we must admit that the destruction of Germany might have been accomplished.

If this titanic conflict between the nations developed outside the frontiers of our fatherland, not only is all the merit due to the immortal service rendered by our old army, but it was also very fortunate for the future of Germany. I am fully convinced that if things had taken a different course there would no longer be a German Reich to-day, but only "German States". And that is the only reason why the blood which was shed by our friends and brothers in the War was at least not shed in vain.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 547.

MOST probably, we shall be dubbed barbarians for this view, about which it need only be observed that we regard the war cry, 'Back to Barbarism!' as one of the best that have been coined in recent years.

H. SCHULZE PFÄLZER. Bibl. IX, 135 (cf. II, 15, p. 235).

IN the struggle between the German and the un-German element we shall not repeat the mistakes we made in our struggle with the Allies, which we fought with one arm tied behind our back and never aimed at the whole person of the enemy. This time we are taking the sword in both hands and smiting him hip and thigh till we split him

in two from top to bottom. We are waging this war with military and economic and psychological weapons—particularly the last.

EWALD BANSE. 1934. Bibl. VIII, E. 3, p. 81.

CHEMISTRY in modern warfare will be chiefly concerned with the production of fighting gas. . . . In future a decisive part will be played by the contamination, through 'planes, of front sectors as well as of vital industrial places throughout the whole of the enemy's territory.

E. BANSE, *Volkstümliche Wehrkunde*, Berlin, 1935, p. 92. Bibl. VIII, E. 1, pp. 33-4.

THE next war will require the highest degree of brutality. So the uneducated man will best be able to work the war machines.

Deutsche Wehr, 9 Aug. 1936.

THE air forces shall and will drop large quantities of their bombs over the big cities and the big industrial centres, where sound hits may be expected. Also, as shown by the Spanish Civil War and the world press, in spite of all resolutions and conventions of The Hague, Geneva, and Washington, they will employ poison gas too, in an attempt to spread terror among the enemy.

KARL JUSTROW. 1938. Bibl. VI, 29, p. 28.

FOREMOST among the devices likely to turn the air force into a successful weapon, may very well be the method hardly as yet tried in the Great War, of showering poisonous liquids on advancing and resting troop formations.

H. FÖRTSCHE. 1939. Bibl. VI, 14, p. 183.

WE would concentrate on those three methods which have been tested in Germany and are going to be employed in the next war:

- (a) the method of placing bacteria in glass capsules. These capsules will then be dropped from 'planes.
- (b) The so-called "destruction bomb"; in contrast with the glass capsules, this will produce a field of bacteria of the greatest density.
- (c) The method of "drop fields"—providing for showers of liquid poison, more especially of anthrax spores.

HELMUT KLOTZ. 1937. Bibl. VI, 36A, p. 179.

THE Navies too expect poison gas to be used in the naval encounters of the future. . . . All are agreed that the gas attack from the air by means of deep diving 'planes has substantial prospects of success. . . . This kind of gas attack is considered particularly effective.

Kriegskamerad, 1939, p. 55.

THE decision by arms is the supreme law of every war. If we do not succeed there, we Germans will lose every war. Nowhere but in the harder blow can lie our salvation, never in the longer breath. . . . It is quite possible that certain cultural circles will indulge in certain considerations such as are fostered by the Red Cross. But that sort of thing must needs fail in the face of considerations of final success. It is in the nature of war that everything is made subservient to the final success.

LT.-GEN. HORST VON METSCH. 1939. *Bibl.* VI, 40A,
pp. 74 ff.

DURING the terrible devastation wrought in Rotterdam by the German Air Force on 14 May, the number of dead ran into 30,000.

Over an area of approximately 4 square kilometres, only three large buildings, one with its roof ripped off, have been left standing; the rest is rubble without as much as a wall left to mark the position of the destroyed blocks.

So complete is the ruin of this once busy centre, that even natives of the city lose their way in the streets, which have now become mere passages cleared through the mountains of debris. Trams are again running through this desert of masonry, where the work of clearing away is still proceeding, seven weeks after the bombardment. 1,300 lorries are employed every day to carry away the rubble and to dump it into a nearby canal, a long stretch of which has already been filled up.

But not only debris is being removed; even as late as three weeks after the bombardment human victims were still being found in the ruins at the rate of 300 a day. Needless to say, most of them were dead. The devastation wrought by the German bombers was still further aggravated by the enormous fires which burned for fully two days. As the water supply had been put out of action no effective means of extinguishing the rapidly spreading flames were available.

Meanwhile the Germans still keep up the pretence that the bombardment of Rotterdam—which was undertaken at a time when the A.A. batteries had already been silenced, and when the Dutch Air

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Force had gone down fighting in its entirety—cost no more than 300 killed and 465 wounded. An official statement to this effect was inserted in all the Dutch papers the day after the bombardment.

As regards responsibility for the devastation of Rotterdam, the case has been simply put by a German film showing the ruined city, under the title: “How the English left Rotterdam”.

Netherlands Press Agency, 1940. Vol. i, p. 12.

CHAPTER VI

GERMANY IN DEFEAT. THE SAME FEATURES, BUT A DIFFERENT EXPRESSION. SABOTAGE OF TREATIES AND PREPARATION FOR REVENGE

The War of 1914 was certainly not forced on the masses; it was even desired by the whole people. And it is only in the light of this fact that we can understand how more than two million German men and youths joined the colours voluntarily, ready to shed the last drop of their blood for the cause.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 145.

Our enemies did not use their victory of 1918.

DR. ROBERT LEY, Speech at "Kraft durch Freude"
anniversary, 27 Nov. 1940.



Photo by Underwood & Underwood, New York

STRESEMANN

(1878-1929)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The period of 21 years which began with the Armistice of 11 November 1918 and ended on 1 September 1939 with the invasion of Poland provides us with an opportunity to study German mentality first during a time when they were defeated and weak, and knew it, and later, when they were preparing by secret steps towards having their revenge and starting a second European war.

After their defeat the Germans' first consideration was to throw the responsibility for the war on the Imperial régime, on Kaiser Wilhelm II and the Prussian "junkers", and to proclaim to all the world that henceforth Germany would lead all Europe as a thoroughly peaceful and democratic State. Even the Pan-Germanic League washed its hands of responsibility for the war.

At the very dawn of the Weimar Republic certain phenomena existed which might have given the attentive observer cause for anxiety. The revolution was strangled at birth by men of the Republic, who allowed the rabble to murder the genuine enemies of the former régime, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, in the streets of Berlin, and throttled the attempt of certain German States to achieve independence in relation to Prussia. How strong these movements were during the first years after the defeat can be judged from the quotation we give from Mein Kampf, in which Hitler describes the Bavarians' hostile attitude to Prussia. A similar attitude in the Rhineland is reflected in the first volume of the Stresemann Memoirs.

The officer caste was left undestroyed, and with its help the Weimar Republic built up General von Seeckt's Reichswehr, as an instrument for the maintenance of internal discipline and as a nucleus of an armed force which in the future might again menace Europe. German industry retained its former political influence, or even increased it. National unity was achieved on the basis of struggle against the Peace Treaty, which was sabotaged from the first day of its existence.

Hardly had the revolutionary trends been throttled and, in Hindenburg's words of 1918, 'hardly had democracy been prescribed in Germany', in order to satisfy the victorious Western Powers, when, in the

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shadow of the new republic, open, semi-secret and secret nationalistic organisations began to arise, whose object was to prepare the German nation for revenge, and also to co-operate with the Reichswehr in secretly training reservists for the German Army, despite the Versailles Treaty. By way of example we may mention the 'Ehrhardt' Brigade, named after the naval captain Ehrhardt, who was its founder and who in 1920 took an active part in the notorious Kapp Putsch. General von Ludendorff also took part in this Putsch, and he with Hitler was the leader of the further Putsch which took place at Munich in 1923. Captain Ehrhardt was also the founder of the Wiking und Consul Bund. One of the officials of the Nazi movement, General von Epp, began his political career with the creation of the Freikorps Epp. Dr. Friedrich Weber, the founder of the Bund Oberland, joined up with the National-Socialist movement in 1923. Fritz Sauckel, the National-Socialist Reichsstatthalter of Thuringia, had previously belonged to the Völkischer Schutz und Trutzbund. One of Hitler's closest confederates from the earliest days of the Nazi movement, Police President Dr. Pöhner, was himself the founder of another nationalistic organisation, the Ordnungszelle Bayern. Another well-known organisation, the Schwarze Reichswehr, was founded by Paul Schulz, and a Selbstschutz Organisation Orgesch was organised by Dr. Escherich. Major-General von der Goltz, prominent for his fights against the Bolsheviks in the Baltic countries, was a leader of the Vereinigte Vaterländische Verbände. We have mentioned a number of nationalistic organisations whose aims were similar to those of the National-Socialist Party, and whose founders or leaders, together with their organisations, were sooner or later merged in the Nazi organisation and subordinated to Adolf Hitler. The list could be lengthened considerably, but one more must be referred to, because it was the most important, enrolling millions of members and, during the days of the Weimar Republic, quite openly active. This was the Stahlhelm Bund der Frontsoldaten, the organisation of former war combatants. This last organisation could only have developed as it did through the constant support of the Reichswehr. In January 1933 its founder and leader, Dr. Seldte, whose moderation was so fulsomely praised by Stresemann in the famous talk with Aristide Briand at Thoiry in 1926, put the entire organisation at Hitler's disposal, and himself accepted the position of member of the Cabinet in Hitler's Government. Thus the National-Socialist movement was by no means an isolated phenomenon, but constituted one of many Nationalistic organisations. Adolf Hitler did not call the wave of German nationalism into existence,

but united it in the National-Socialist movement, which was all the easier as the main ideological bases were common to all the various groups. Hitler succeeded in uniting the various nationalistic trends, thanks largely to the financial support of German heavy industry, for example Herr Thyssen and von Kirdorff (director of the "Gelsenkirchen Bergwerke"), both of whom figure on the list of honour of promoters of the Deutschvölkische Bewegung.

Another circumstance which conduced to the success of the National-Socialist movement was the fact that the idea which it adopted as its programme had deep roots among the professors of the higher and secondary schools, and among the elementary teachers, as the result of which it had long since permeated the minds of the German youth. Among the slogans which have inflamed the fanaticism of present-day Germans is that of the Nordic-German racial theory, which Hitler borrowed from German science. During the past twenty years this theory has been developed by eminent German scientists, with Professors Lenard (a Nobel prize-winner) Plötz, Lenz, Stark, and Günther at their head.

It must be pointed out that the leaders of the National-Socialist movement matured politically in this post-war atmosphere of vengeful nationalism. This applies equally to the dissidents of that movement who are now living in exile, such as Hermann Rauschnig or Otto Strasser, whose quarrel with Hitler was over methods rather than aims.

While German propagandists were hawking the democratic aspect of the Weimar Republic all over the world, the Reichswehr and German industry were systematically preparing the rearmament of Germany. The Reichswehr exploited the convenient screen of German propaganda to develop rearmament partly with the help of Russia, which, during the period when there was Inter-Allied control of German disarmament, allowed Germany to build on Russian territory factories which worked for the military needs of the Reich.

The policy of the Weimar Republic, and more particularly of Stresemann, had more or less the same objects in view as the policy of the Third Reich. The difference concerned the method and especially the speed of realising those objects. The Weimar Republic tended towards a gradual realisation of German "living space", most of all in the East, so as to gain a strong basis later for her "world policy". By good relations with the West, i.e. with Great Britain, the United States and France, and with Russia in the East, the Weimar foreign policy aimed at isolating

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Czechoslovakia and Poland, countries which were intended to be the first to pay the costs of Germany's political revival. In addition, good relations with the West were intended to facilitate the attraction of foreign capital to Germany, and the investments which were a condition of the development of German industry, and therefore of the development of the German war potential.

The foundations of the strength of the Hitler Reich were built during the days of the Weimar Republic, i.e. down to 1933. The more concessions the Weimar Republic obtained, the higher rose the wave of German nationalism. But in 1933 the German nation felt that the Weimar Republic had fulfilled its rôle, namely, that it had protected Germany from the results of the 1918 defeat, and considered that the time had come for the visor to be raised in the struggle for German hegemony. It is very characteristic that the premature evacuation of the Rhineland in 1930 was not regarded in Germany as a proof of a desire on the part of the West to co-operate with Germany, but as a signal for the preparation of revenge. In the next elections to the Reichstag the Nazi party members grew unexpectedly from a mere handful to the large number of over a hundred deputies.

In the history of the Weimar Republic the person of Gustav Stresemann is particularly important, because in international opinion he was the most faithful representative of that Republic. In a speech on 15 December 1939 Sir Eric Phipps, former British Ambassador in Berlin, justly appraised the figure of the Weimar Minister for Foreign Affairs when he said:

"Dr. Stresemann was generally regarded as a representative of the 'good' Germany, and Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand certainly did their best to give him every chance. After Dr. Stresemann's death, however, his memoirs showed that his apparent moderation was a mere cloak under which to prepare an eventual policy of force."

Dr. Rudolf Olden, the former editor of the democratic daily Berliner Tageblatt, and author of works on Hindenburg and Hitler, a pillar of the 'democratic' wing of the German emigrés, objected to this view, arguing that Stresemann did not carry on an equivocal policy, and defending him fervently. But Olden's arguments failed to convince Sir Eric Phipps, who in a letter to the Manchester Guardian on 31 December 1939 recalled that in 1925 Stresemann had formulated his view on the task of German policy in the following terms:

"... that Germany must take under her protection the ten or twelve millions of persons of German stock who live abroad under a foreign yoke; that her Eastern and Upper Silesian frontiers must be revised, and that Danzig and the Polish Corridor must be regained."

The foregoing political objectives of Stresemann, which Hitler began to achieve in 1938, led in 1939 to the second European war.

It is very characteristic of German mentality that one and the same man was to be found at the top not only of the Imperial Reich, but also of the Weimar Republic and the Nazi Reich. Hindenburg, a loyal Prussian Junker, the Generalissimo of Wilhelm II, was elected President of the Weimar Republic by a free and universal popular vote, and of his own unfettered will, in January 1933, he named Adolf Hitler Chancellor of the Reich. One man at the head of three successive régimes: is that not symbolic of the continuity of German political thought?

After Hitler achieved power the peaceable declarations known from the days of the Weimar Republic not only did not cease, but grew even more positive. But neither was there any cessation of the sabotage of international agreements: it merely grew more open and acquired a swifter tempo. But the mask was completely removed only in March 1939, with the occupation of Prague and Hitler's public proclamation of the German Lebensraum theory.

We begin this chapter with two quotations dating from the period of the last war. In the first Dr. Kirchner calls, as early as 1916, for preparations to be made for the next war. In the second, Wilhelm II declares in September 1918, i.e. when faced with the approaching defeat, that the Germans are incapable of hatred. These two quotations are a foretaste of what the Reich was to become after the defeat of 1918: a benevolent pretence of a peaceful and friendly German nation for external use, which formed a convenient screen for the systematic preparation, as soon as one war was ended, of a further war of revenge on the deluded victors.

MOLTKE, after the war of 1870-1, said that Germany would have to defend the unity then achieved for fifty years; after the present war we may perhaps have to defend our lives again, far more so than was necessary after 1871. To prepare for this as soon as possible is the urgent duty of us all.

MARTIN KIRCHNER.¹ 1916. Bibl. VIII, F. 23, p. 4.

WELL, my friends, who is the hater? The German, the Teuton, knows no hatred. . . . Hate only appears in peoples who feel inferior.

KAISER WILHELM II, Address to Officials and Workers of Krupp's, 11 Sept. 1918. Bibl. II, 11, Vol. 34 (1918), p. 395.

OUR enemies want to hamstring us and stop our free development. We repudiate this with all the decision at our command. We will not allow anyone to prescribe what we shall do at home. The idea of introducing a sort of autonomy for Western Prussia and Posen, which would destroy the unity of the Prussian State, cannot be discussed at all.

MINISTER DR. DREWS, in the Prussian Landtag (Parliament), 21 Jan. 1918. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 69.

LIST of German Reichstag Deputies who are members of the *Alldeutscher Verband* (Pangerman League):

No. 24. Dr. Stresemann, syndicus, Nat. Lib., Dresden.

Figuring in *Handbuch des Alldeutschen Verbandes*, Munich, 1911, 15th edn., p. 35.

WE are not continuing the war for the sake of theoretical plans of conquest. It will and must bring the necessary guarantees for Germany's future, which cannot consist in a League of Nations by the grace of Wilson, but only in real guarantees. I close with the words of Hindenburg: "The times are hard, but victory is certain."

GUSTAV STRESEMAN, Speech in the Reichstag, 25 June 1918.

¹ Dr. Martin Kirchner (1854-), physician; Ministerial Director in the Prussian Ministry of Worship.

ATTENTION! High Treason! Whoever undertakes to wrest Upper Silesia from the Reich by force and incorporate it into a foreign country or make it independent, and whoever prepares such an undertaking, is guilty of high treason. This also refers, in particular, to any elections to the Polish Constituent Assembly taking place in Prussia, as well as to any act preparatory therefor; further, to the collection of a Polish national tax and the establishment of a Polish militia in Prussia. High treason is punishable with penal servitude.

Central Workers' and Soldiers' Council for
Upper Silesia, 21 Jan. 1919. Bibl.,
Die Deutsche Revolution 1918-1919,
Vol. i, pp. 431-2.

... Germany can no more enter the League of Nations without colonies than without a merchant navy ... we expect the restitution of our colonial possessions. ... From the point of view of the new international morality ... it was unjust to dispose of Alsatians and Lorrainers without their consent, even without regard to linguistic boundaries. ... The Peace Conference has not yet set its seal on the fate of Alsace-Lorraine; Alsace-Lorraine is legally still Reich territory. ... The new Czechoslovak State is breaking the law to which it owes its own existence because it is not only trying to bring the Germans of Bohemia and Moravia under its dominion by force of arms, but is also claiming territory inhabited by Germans in the South-East. The new State wants to bend to its rule Austrian Silesia and parts of Lower Austria, in addition to German settlements in the Austro-Hungarian frontier districts, in order to satisfy its urge for economic expansion. Indeed, it threatens to reach out for German Reich territory. A sharp protest must be lodged against such encroachments ...

... The passionate Polish nationalist propaganda would not await the decision of the Peace Conference and has risen with violence against the Prussian authorities. ... Thus they are again carrying the horrors of war into Eastern Germany, which is simultaneously threatened by the greater danger of Bolshevik imperialism. Thus are they preventing us from effectively protecting the Eastern provinces of Prussia from the common enemy. ...

It must and will be our endeavour ... to find a *modus vivendi*. Part of this is, above all, recognition of Poland's right to a secure outlet to the Baltic Sea. The problem can be settled by the contractual

regulation of shipping on the Vistula and by means of concessions with regard to railways and ports, without having to touch inalienable West Prussian territory.

COUNT VON BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU,¹ Reich
Minister for Foreign Affairs. Speech in
the National Assembly, 14 Feb. 1919.
Bibl., *ibid.*, pp. 532-5.

It is an almost cruel irony of fate that the country which was formerly the strongest military power in the world, which was the first to introduce universal conscription, should now be obliged to solicit for volunteers by means of newspaper advertisements. . . . It is not right to allow a state of affairs to continue in which Polish, Czech or any other bands threaten the frontiers of the Reich. . . .

REICHSTAG MEMBER (SOCIALIST) SCHOEFFLIN,
Speech in the National Assembly, Feb.
1919. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 573.

THE Pan-German League repudiates with contempt the reproach that they have incited to war. It is not incitement to war when, having seen through the political development of the world situation, one issues a warning against a coming catastrophe, when one demands that one's own people should face this catastrophe equipped. That is what the Pan-German League has done. . . .

Statement of Pan-German League dated
14 Sept. 1918. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 421.

WE call the General Strike of a defeated Army the German Revolution. . . .

WALTER RATHENAU, July 1919. Bibl. IX, 106, p. 7.

It is the policy of force which finally will always triumph. But when one has not got the force, one can also combat by the idea.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Speech made on 29 Nov.
1924 in the Grosse Schauspielhaus at
Berlin, during a demonstration organised
by the Volkspartei.

¹ Ulrich K., Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau (1869-1928), diplomat; Foreign Minister, 1918; head of German Peace Delegation at Versailles, 1919; Ambassador in Moscow, 1922, when the Rapallo Agreement between Germany and U.S.S.R. was concluded.

... This Alsace and vast tracts of Lorraine are German regions, and their inhabitants are of German blood. The tricolour may float above Strasbourg cathedral, but that imposing edifice was born of the German spirit, it has nothing in common with the French spirit; it was there that one of the greatest geniuses Germany has given the world first felt the great breath of German architecture. It all bears the impress of the German character and is animated by the German spirit. That is why we shall never forget that Alsace-Lorraine is German, that it will always belong to us in spirit and that our task will be to preserve for Germany this spiritual patrimony.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Speech to the Congress of
the People's Party. Jena, 17 April 1919.¹

... The Government must not insist too much on the fact that Germany will integrally fulfil the conditions of the peace treaty. For all parties have been unanimous in considering that the treaty is unfulfillable.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Speech to the National
Assembly, 8 Oct. 1919.

LUDENDORFF, when requesting the immediate announcement of the peace offer, also emphatically demanded the formation of a Parliamentary government.

WILHELM MOMMSEN. *Bibl. VIII, B. 73A, p. 190.*

IN politics everything is still proceeding, for the present, like clockwork in the military sense. Von Hintze comes to Spa, gets petrified, but composes himself. The Emperor is surprised, but also controls himself. Hertling resigns almost without a word, the Government

¹ *Ed. note.*—The People's Party was founded by Stresemann after the Democratic Party had refused to accept him as a member. The Democrats were afraid of discrediting themselves by association with the man who during the war had advocated the most radical of annexionist demands. The People's Party, on the other hand, made no attempt to conceal its opposition to the new régime; it was this party which prevented the realisation of the Republican project introduced into the Weimar Constitution for administrative reform of the Reich. 'We have succeeded,' said Stresemann, 'in snatching from Prussia's adversaries the surgeon's knife which they had already raised over her.'

is to be formed on the Parliamentary system. They are ordering a Democracy, which has no tradition in Germany. The formation of the cabinet begins, the Ministers being provided by the Left, including the Social Democrats.

... The new Government will request President Wilson to bring about an armistice and peace.

FIELD-MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG, after 11 Nov. 1918.
Bibl. IX, 134, p. 142.

MELANCHOLY meditations do not serve a great work. What was German must become German again. Dream of that, German youth!

FIELD-MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG. Bibl. II, 46
(cf. I, 56, p. 21).

You are all young men and you have played to me the "March of Entry into Paris" well. But I hope that one day you will be playing this military march where you should, at the same spot where I was in 1870.

FIELD-MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG, Address to the
Steel Helmets of Gross-Schwülper. *Correspondance de Genève*, 19 Sept. 1927. Bibl.,
ibid., p. 92.

IN view of the dangers and needs of the moment, we demand:

Reich unity of all German tribes and territories on a federal basis. Defence and preservation of our threatened frontier regions in the East, North and West; protection for our exiled and oppressed foreign Germans.

Proclamation of the Executive of the German
National People's Party, 27 Dec. 1918,
Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 92.

... The Party strives for political and economic conciliation between the nations, but considers this impossible so long as the honour of the German people is being trodden underfoot by our enemies, the union of all Germans who have been torn away from us or who acknowledge allegiance to the Reich is being prevented, and the peace of violence that has been forced upon us is maintained,

The German people are also entitled to collaborate in the spiritual and moral elevation of the peoples of low cultural level.

Principles of the German People's Party,
adopted at the "Party Day", Leipzig,
19 Oct. 1919. Report issued by Head-
quarters in Berlin, 1920.

THE starting-point and substance of Germany's foreign policy for the immediate future is the revision of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. . . . *Never* will we accept the dictate of force as the permanent legal order. *Never* will we recognise the detachment of parts of the German people from the Fatherland. *Never* will we renounce the right of self-determination for the peoples and, basing ourselves on this principle, we will strive for the coalition of all German tribes.

Germany's share in the spiritual advancement of humanity guarantees her the right to colonial activity. We will also contest the plunder of our colonies.

Programme of the German Democratic Party:
*Die Deutsche Demokratische Partei, ihr
Programm und ihre Organisation.* Edited
by the Propaganda Office of the Party,
Berlin, Dec. 1919.

At the basis of all our deliberations is this stout volume, in which a hundred paragraphs begin: Germany renounces, renounces, renounces, renounces,—that most terrible and murderous, baleful hammer by means of which a great people is forced to acknowledge their own unworthiness, to consent to ruthless dismemberment, to compromise between enslavement and heroism,—*this book shall never become the law of the Future.* What hand could help but wither that placed itself and us in these fetters? And so we are to use our hands, we are to work, we are to be copyholders for the whole world. . . .

PHILIPP SCHEIDEMANN, Speech on 12 May 1919,
during his tenure of office as Reichsminister
President during a session of the National
Assembly, meeting on this occasion not at
Weimar, but in the Aula of Berlin Uni-
versity.

VENGEANCE! German people! To-day the shameful peace has been signed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. Forget it not!

There where, in the glorious year 1871, the glorious German Reich was reborn in its ancient splendour, there German honour is to-day interred. Forget it not! By labour without relaxation and without flagging the German people will reconquer the place which is their due among the nations! Therefore, revenge for the ignominy of 1919!

Appeal published by German Right in *Deutsche Zeitung*, 28 June 1919.

THE freedom of the German people from foreign domination is a prerequisite of national rebirth. A Reich re-invigorated out of free soil, the detached German territories reunited with it—that is and remains the aim of all German policy. For this reason we strive for the alteration of the Versailles Treaty, the restoration of German unity and the re-acquisition of the colonies required for our economic development.

Principles of the German National People's Party, 1920.

THE pressure of the enemies cries for liberation, the parts torn from the Fatherland want to be freed; the fellow-countrymen who are being kept away strive for reunion; the Kaiser idea is exercising its old fascination. . . . The German people again . . . has high political aims. . . . The thought of them will promote wonderfully the hard work of internal revival.

And when this is accomplished, then let him come, the new Bismarck—he will find his people ripe for re-birth.

Then the new German history will begin.

HEINRICH CLASS. 1920. Bibl. V, 21, p. 302.

MY Party, in conformity with the attitude which it adopted at the sessions of the National Assembly on 22 and 23 June, declares that it cannot with absolutely clear conscience give its assent to the ratification of the Peace Treaty; fully conscious of the responsibility which it assumes before history and towards the German people, it reiterates its refusal. We pray and we exhort the German people to close their ranks, to labour feverishly and not to lose faith in their country. If this peace should now become international law, we shall never recog-

nise its juridical validity. We shall not recognise such a peace, neither to-day nor at any time.

PROF. DR. KAHL,¹ Speech to the German National Assembly, 9 July 1919.

... The League of Nations has become the executioner of the nations.

B. W. VON BÜLOW.² 1923. Bibl. V, 19, p. 34.

... The brigand character of the Versailles Treaty is well illustrated by the conduct of the Australian Government towards the Germans of New Guinea, now Papua. . . .

Ibid., p. 324.

... We ought all of us to learn to become Europeans, but we are and remain above all Germans. . . .

Ibid., p. 572.

... The world is not ripe for love . . . one day . . . Germans . . . may perhaps be able to live in amity. But they must go through hatred, armoured, girded, clanking with iron.

ERNST WIECHERT, *Totenwolf*, 1924. Bibl. I, 9, p. 486.

I AM firmly convinced that we could not be ignorant of this fact: our method, at the present time, unfortunately can consist only of first forcing other powers to recognise the obligations which they have assumed in regard to us, under the Treaty of Versailles.

We cannot adopt any other method than that which consists in recognising, for the time being, the obligations resulting from the Treaty of Versailles, which stipulates, moreover, that we have the right to demand a fresh examination of our capacity to pay. But we must oblige the others to recognise the obligations which this treaty imposes upon them.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Speech to the Reichstag on 6 March 1924. Bibl. I, 56, p. 38.

¹ Member of the People's Party, and president of many of its National Congresses. Professor of Law at Berlin University, authority on ecclesiastical and international law.

² Reich Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and German representative on the Council of the League of Nations; nephew of the former Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bernhard von Bülow.

SAME FEATURES, DIFFERENT EXPRESSION

ON 9 November 1923, four and a half years after its foundation, the German National-Socialist Labour Party was dissolved and forbidden throughout the whole of the Reich. To-day, in November 1926, it is again established throughout the Reich, enjoying full liberty, strong and internally more compact than ever before.¹

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 560.

WE have, in fact, repeatedly failed to keep up the payments to which we formerly pledged ourselves. But nothing is stranger than the fact that the policy of fulfilment—the word being taken as meaning the fulfilment of all obligations undertaken under the Treaty of Versailles—should have provided the basis for an understanding. It was the other way round. After we had accepted the London ultimatum (May 1921), we announced in December (1921) that we could no longer carry it out. While Wirth was still Chancellor, we said: “This is beyond our powers; we cannot go on.” Whereupon negotiations were opened and reductions conceded. Then came the conflict over our non-deliveries that led to the invasion of the Ruhr. As a result of that invasion we denounced the deliveries in kind, and stated that we could no longer carry them out, and upon the basis of the whole conflict that arose out of our non-fulfilment, came the London Conference, through the intervention of the United States. This then, not by means of any ultimatum or dictation, but by negotiations with Germany on the basis of equal rights, led to an agreement that is still the foundation of our financial and economic relations. The statement that negotiations could only have been brought about through fulfilment is historically incorrect. The negotiations were consequent upon the acutest conflicts and the definite declaration of our inability to fulfil.

GUSTAV STRESEMAN. *Bibl. V*, 200, Vol. ii,
pp. 13–14.

FOR your personal information only and not for publication in any form, I may inform you that the President,² when the telegrams intimating Briand's agreement to the evacuation of Düsseldorf and Duisburg were reported to him—an agreement which he had not himself expected—personally offered me his congratulations on this

¹ *Ed. note.*—We give this quotation here, owing to the fact that in 1926, Herr Stresemann was the leading politician of Germany and Minister for Foreign Relations.

² *Ed. note.*—Hindenburg.

success of our policy. The gentlemen of the extreme Right proclaim on the one side that France desires Germany's downfall, but criticise every policy that aims at driving France back from trench to trench, as I once expressed it, since no general attack is feasible.

GUSTAV STRESEMAN, to General-Lieutenant
Karl von Schoch, Norderney, 27 July 1925.
Bibl., *ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 58.

. . . To the question whether the combination between England and France and ourselves might not turn its face against Russia, I would give this negative reply: if we do not succeed in co-operating with the financially powerful States, America, for instance, which in these matters stands on the side of England and France, I forebode an economic collapse in Germany, the consequences of which cannot be predicted. For we have no more accumulated capital in Germany with which to carry on our businesses. On this account I also ask that the opportunity may be seized to get into political touch also with the dispensers of money and gold. That does not exclude co-operation with Russia.

GUSTAV STRESEMAN, details of the Note of
Reply, 17 July 1925. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 137.

. . . The Treaty of Rapallo has created an atmosphere of complete reciprocal confidence in Russo-German collaboration. German policy will always be directed towards the balancing of interests in the West and the East, but this balance, despite the difficulties of such a task, can never be established at the expense of useful collaboration between Germany and Russia which must not even be hindered in any way. . . .

GUSTAV STRESEMAN, Extract from Reichstag
Speech of 18 May 1925. Bibl. I, 56,
p. 40.

IN the last few weeks came, too, the conversations between the potentates of capital—Strong, Montagu Norman, and Schacht. It seems as though a kind of Anglo-American-German Capital Trust were in process of formation, naturally presupposing the establishment of a Security Pact. We are in urgent need of these milliards. The fact that the Americans have 18 milliards of gold marks in the

Treasury of the Federal Reserve Bank shows that in reality England lost the war as much as we did.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Stresemann's Diary,
Bansin, 19 July 1925. Bibl. V, 200,
Vol. ii, p. 142.

Now let me speak of two groups of questions that were especially prominent at Locarno. The first was the question of Alsace-Lorraine and Eupen-Malmédy. In Articles 1 and 2 of the treaty it is stated what the Powers are to renounce. They are to renounce war, force and invasion. It was laid down in the preamble of the draft—for the draft was altered three times: the first was the draft that England and France had drawn up on their own account; the second was the one that Herr Gaus had altered in accordance with our views in London; and the third was the draft that emerged from Locarno. In these drafts, it is laid down in the preamble that the intention of these treaties is the maintenance of the *status quo* in the West. This clause was struck out at the suggestion of the German Delegation, and replaced by the words "maintenance of peace". Our resistance was the fundamental idea of the whole transaction. The worst of it is that, out of respect for what was confidential, we cannot give the proper balance to the situation; it would then become clear that there was no question of a moral renunciation, but merely a recognition of the fact, which every sensible person would admit, that it would *to-day* be madness to play with the idea of a war with France.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN. Bibl., *ibid.*, Vol. ii,
pp. 216-17.

WE must defend ourselves against the charge of War Guilt, and we are doing so. But what am I to reply to the Belgians when they say: "Your Chancellor himself admitted it from the tribune of the Reichstag"? I am defeated. I cannot contend against that document, which has been before the world since 4 August. I don't think there has been any nation in history that would have managed their business in that fashion. When Frederick the Great began the first Silesian war, he marched through Saxony, and some historians have questioned whether that was not a breach of neutrality. But before he put his troops in motion, all the Courts of Europe had received his Memorandum on his right of transit: not his excuses for the breach of Saxon neutrality. That is what is called policy, and I believe that



THE "MITTELEUROPA" ECONOMIC SPACE

(Reproduction of an illustration in 1931 issue (Nr. 2-3) of the German monthly "Volk und Reich".)

other nations let often guns off somewhere, and explain that they are hurrying to the assistance of the party attacked.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN. Bibl., *ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 220.¹

WE have just sung a German national song that treats of the time of Frederick the Great. This, an indication of how largely this personality figures in the recollection of the present, is not primarily an avowal of the monarchical idea. Frederick the Great is for us the embodiment of that ancient Prussian spirit on which is based the categorical imperative of duty.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN. Bibl., *ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 304.

ON the question of Germany's entry into the League I would make the following observations:

In my opinion there are three great tasks that confront German foreign policy in the more immediate future.

In the first place the solution of the Reparations question in a sense tolerable for Germany, and the assurance of peace, which is an essential prerequisite for the recovery of our strength.

Secondly, the protection of Germans abroad, those ten to twelve millions of our kindred who now live under a foreign yoke in foreign lands.

The third great task is the readjustment of our Eastern frontiers; the recovery of Danzig, the Polish corridor, and a correction of the frontier in Upper Silesia.

In the background stands the union with German Austria, although I am quite clear that this not merely brings no advantages to Germany but seriously complicates the problem of the German Reich.

If we want to secure these aims, we must concentrate on these tasks. Hence the Security Pact, which guarantees us peace, and makes England, as well as Italy, if Mussolini consents to collaborate, a guarantor of our Western frontiers. The pact also rules out the possibility of any military conflict with France for the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine; this is a renunciation on the part of Germany, but, so far, it possesses only a theoretical character, as there is no possibility of a war against France. . . .

The question of a choice between East and West does not arise as the result of our joining the League. Such a choice can only be made when backed by military force. That, alas, we do not possess. . . .

¹ cf. Bethmann-Hollweg, pp. 83-5.

SAME FEATURES, DIFFERENT EXPRESSION

... The most important thing for the first task of German policy mentioned above is, the liberation of German soil from any occupying force. We must get the stranglehold off our neck.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN. To the former Crown Prince, 7 Sept. 1925. Bibl., *ibid.*, Vol. ii, pp. 503 ff.

THE TALK AT THOIRY

M. BRIAND began the interview with the expression of his conviction that partial solutions were useless, as always involving the possibility of danger in future. His purpose was to discuss a comprehensive solution of all the questions at issue between Germany and France, and he asked me to say openly whether we could come to terms with France in the economic sphere, if this question should be solved. In this connection he was not merely thinking of the return of the Saar, but the termination of the entire Rhineland occupation.

Stresemann: ... I must therefore be prepared for a stiff contest in Berlin, if I fall in with your proposal. I can only deal with the situation thus: an understanding on this basis seems to me possible only if, in connection with the occupation of the Rhineland, there is no question of reducing the periods laid down by two years or so, etc., but that, when our agreement is in order, the troops will be removed with all the speed that is technically possible. If, then, I assume, our Cabinets agree, and the work of the technical experts can begin at once, and within the first months of the coming year we have agreed with the other nations on the whole procedure, then all troops must have left the Rhineland by 30 September 1927 (Briand nodded agreement). I may also make clear that the issue before us now is not a reduction in the periods of occupation, but an immediate suspension of the occupation as a whole, with an understanding in this regard.

Briand: Of course. Everything would be arranged, and as quickly as possible. ...

Stresemann: ... And now what about the removal of Military Control?

Briand: A discussion is going on to-day between Massigli (Chef de Section in the Foreign Ministry in Paris), Weizmann (State Secretary in the Prussian Ministry of State), and Pünder (State Secretary in the Reich Chancellery). I believe there are still a few small matters to be

settled. Perhaps you would see what you can do to help them to reach agreement. Then I will at once instruct the French representative on the Ambassadors' Conference that the Military Control Commission is to be withdrawn.

Stresemann: It is regrettable that there should still be small details not yet settled. The business should be taken out of the hands of officials, and ended without more ado. What are the points remaining?

Briand: I have given express instructions that the business is to be dealt with in a generous way. These officials are impossible. When I first attacked the question of removing the Military Control, I was confronted with piles of documents from the French War Ministry regarding German derelictions. I threw these papers into a corner, and asked what matters of importance still remained outstanding, as I had no intention of going into all these trivialities. A file of documents was then put before me. At last I succeeded in getting the matter narrowed down to essentials. Military men are in themselves ready to obey and to carry out orders; but they must be given clear orders and instructions. I shall then be most ready to issue instructions to the Ambassador, and support the removal of Military Control.

What disquiets me, are the national organisations in Germany. What is all this business with the Stahlhelm? This Stahlhelm has issued a book of instructions, with a detailed programme of military training, in marksmanship, manœuvring, etc. It is quite natural that my military advisers should call my attention to this sort of thing, and complain that I see Germany with the eye of a politician alone, and do not recognise what is really going on in Germany. Why are such activities not suppressed by the German Government?

Stresemann: I do not know the book issued by the Stahlhelm: but I am quite safe in saying offhand that if there were any question of secret training the book would not appear publicly or be sold in book-shops. It is only to be expected that a great army cannot be spiritually disbanded, and memories of old war days survive in all Associations of front-line fighters. These organisations are perhaps a danger in domestic politics, because they tend at the moment to concern themselves with matters which they do not in the least understand, but from the military point of view they mean nothing, and are not indeed supported by the Reichswehr. The Reichswehr Minister, Gessler, has spoken sharply against them in the Reichstag. General von

Seeckt has never concealed the fact that he would only deal with real soldiers, and would have nothing to do with playing at soldiers. The Stahlhelm itself has bitterly complained that the Reichswehr barrack buildings have not been placed at its disposal. Nor must the Stahlhelm be conceived as a reactionary organisation. In the election campaign of April 1924 I once spoke in Magdeburg on behalf of the Dawes Plan. At the conclusion of the meeting the leader of the Stahlhelm, Seldte, himself called for cheers for me, and vigorously defended his attitude on foreign policy, when he was attacked for having done so. The Republic in Germany has taken no account of the psychological needs of the masses. It is getting hidebound in the dull black jacket of everyday life. Men want colour, joy and movement—hence the success of the Stahlhelm on the one side, and the Reichsbanner on the other.

Briand: That is just how I conceived matters. A man naturally enjoys putting a steel helmet on his head and behaving as though he were still a mighty warrior. I don't attach serious importance to all this, but do what you can to prevent my military men coming to me with all these complaints?

Stresemann: If we are in agreement about the withdrawal of the troops from the Rhineland, the return of the Saar territory, and the abolition of Military Control, it is important that we should come to an understanding over Eupen and Malmédy.

I then gave Briand a detailed statement of the negotiations with Belgium, referred to the pronouncement by Vandervelde on 9 July, and the statement of Delacroix (Belgian member of the Reparations Commission), and asked what was the French Government's attitude to this matter.

Briand: If the whole problem is solved, the question of Eupen and Malmédy will be solved with it. . . .

Stresemann: . . . We were informed everywhere by our friends who visited Paris and France that they had been well received there. And that has done much to relieve the atmosphere. It was indeed a significant symptom that Fritz Thyssen, who had had a talk with Briand, had expressed himself as quite enchanted with the welcome he had received on that occasion.

Briand agreed, and said Thyssen intended to reach further agreements with France, over and above that in connection with iron.

When I told him that Fritz Thyssen was the best-known German-National Industrial, he laughed very heartily and said: "If they were all like that, it would be much easier to come to an understanding." He was much pleased at the news about Thyssen's political attitude, and said that he could turn that to very good account in France."

GUSTAV STRESEMANN. Notes written on 17 Sept. 1926, immediately after the talk with M. Briand was ended. Bibl., *ibid.*, Vol. iii, pp. 17-26.

ON 7 October Stresemann made a detailed statement on Geneva and Thoiry before the Foreign Committee of the Reichstag. He laid stress on the fact that the special questions of a financial and economic nature involved in the negotiations at Geneva and Thoiry could not be discussed until the negotiations pending had reached a more concrete stage and so provided the necessary basis.

"... I refused to discuss Eastern questions or Colonial questions at Thoiry. These things can only be carried forward step by step. But when the time comes in which the Eastern questions are open to debate in any form whatever, it must be clearly realised in Germany that this question can only be settled in conjunction with France; that the understanding with France is the first step that must be taken, and that henceforward in the relations between the two nations and Powers such an atmosphere must prevail as will make it possible to deal with the more far-reaching matters at issue."

GUSTAV STRESEMANN. Bibl., *ibid.*, Vol. iii, pp. 40-1.

It is a weakness of the Germans that they so often do not recognise greatness until the man who did the work is dead. When Bismarck died it was a Socialist newspaper that wrote: "And though we have had to exchange shots with him, we cannot but salute his greatness."

I know two pictures that best reproduce what was embodied in that form, which seems gradually to be growing legendary. One is by Lenbach. In those eyes under the great broad-brimmed hat there seems to me something of Wotan. So I picture him, walking through the Sachsenwald, pondering on his past life, and filled with anxiety for the future.

... Fontane, in one of his poems, says that when, a thousand years hence, people make their pilgrimage to the Sachsenwald, and the

children break the sacred silence with their noise, their elders will say, "Don't shout so, Bismarck is somewhere below."

GUSTAV STRESEMANN. Bibl., *ibid.*, Vol. iii,
p. 309.

Editorial note.—On 9 December 1926 the Nobel Committee at Oslo decided to award the Nobel Peace Prize for the year 1926 to Stresemann. Stresemann could not pay his visit until the end of June 1927. On 29 June Stresemann delivered the following address in the Aula of Oslo University:

"I ought to begin this survey with a description of Germany as she was. Pre-War Germany too suffered from the fact that she was often judged by externals, and that appearance and reality were not always kept apart. It was still the Germany of Friedrich Wilhelm I, with all its feudal characteristics. But this feudalism was inspired by an iron sense of loyalty to the State and nation.

"... The country was to some extent overborne by the advancing ideas of Socialism, and in the middle class there was no victorious idea to oppose to the Socialist standpoint. But it was a country of social and political progress, far less 'manchesterised' than other States with a different constitution. It was the land of barracks, the land of universal military service, and strong military good-fellowship; but it was also the land of technology and chemistry, and the home of the most up-to-date discoveries. Old and new struggled within it for expression."

GUSTAV STRESEMANN. Bibl., *ibid.*, Vol. iii,
p. 494.

WE have had two debates in the Political Committee. One related to the question of the evacuation of the Rhineland. Up to date the situation is this; each of the Powers concerned states that the evacuation of the Rhineland is not subject to discussion. The question is how it is to be carried out. Here the British Government take a definite view of the date on which evacuation is to begin, and the date by which it is to be completed. For the Belgian and the French Governments this is not yet a settled question, whether because it depends on parliamentary negotiations yet to come, or whether because there are to be certain matters for settlement between the so-called technicians and the statesmen. The removal of 50,000 men is a task that in the eyes of certain French military strategists has grown

into one with which the entire French General Staff is apparently unable to cope by any foreseeable date, and anyone who is friendly disposed to France, and thinks that there may be another war, can only hope that the General Staff may be a trifle more active than it apparently is in peace time at present.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, to the Press, on 10 Aug.
1929. Bibl., *ibid.*, Vol. iii, p. 586.

VITZNAU (SWITZERLAND), 14 September 1929.

. . . What you tell me about the alleged bad news service from The Hague merely shows how superficially public opinion in Germany is formed. Briand, much sooner than was publicly known, had abandoned his earlier claims regarding the notorious Adjustment Commission. It is true that I was not in any hurry to inform the Press—after full consideration of the matter, for I am not engaged in politics in order to keep the Press informed, but to serve the interests of Germany. It would have been quite wrong, in the situation as it then was, when Briand was being still attacked in Paris, to pride myself on having won a success, and so make his position more difficult. Moreover, I had not then got the final date of evacuation in my pocket. Once in Cannes, when Briand was working for a policy of understanding, he was overthrown by an outburst of public opinion in France, and at Thoiry we had already agreed on the evacuation of the Rhineland, and the treatment of the Saar question, when a reaction was produced in France by premature paeans in Germany: Briand was hissed at the railway station, public opinion was arrayed against him, and many years had to pass before matters could be put right again.

GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Letter to Herr Spitzfaden,
manufacturer at Pirmasens. Bibl., *ibid.*,
Vol. iii, p. 607.

THE German Government repeats the declaration contained in its memorandum of September 1924, that the eventual entry of Germany into the League of Nations must not be interpreted as a recognition of the allegations formulated in order to serve as a basis for Germany's international obligations and which admit of a moral charge against the German people.

German circular Note of 26 Sept. 1925.
Bibl. I, 56, p. 43.

. . . It is established that there exist illegal funds, illegal enterprises, relations between the Reichswehr and the organisations of the

SABOTAGE OF TREATIES

extreme Right, officers working under service agreements under Common Law, Reichswehr officers performing the functions of sports trainers. . . .

PHILIPP SCHEIDEMANN. Extract from Reichstag
Speech of 16 Dec. 1926.

. . . It is a notorious fact that the Junker Works have established in Russia an aeroplane factory, in order to build military aircraft both for Germany and Russia. The German and Russian military experts have also taken measures with a view to establishing in Russia chemical works to produce poison gas for the two countries. The work was begun at least five years ago and has been continued since without interruption.

In order to carry it on, officers of the Reichswehr have made journeys between Germany and Russia, carrying false passports provided with the necessary visas and supplied by the Russian authorities.

General von Seeckt has maintained the best relations with the Russians, particularly with the most prominent officers of the Soviet Army. . . .

The German Social Democrats on relations between the Reichswehr and Soviet Russia. Soviet Granaten. Soviet Russland als Munitionslieferant für die Reichswehr, Published by the Executive of the German Social Democratic Party, Berlin, March 1927.

IF that is realised which in the course of the centuries of German history could succeed only provisionally and imperfectly, then the day will have come when history will proclaim that the world war was a vivifying victory for Germany!

GEORG SOLDAU.¹ 1925. Bibl. VI, 49, p. 108.

WE must give lead soldiers as gifts to our children, that is how we shall be working for the German future.

GENERAL VON SEECKT. Quoted from *Correspondance de Genève* 19 Sept., 1927.

THE treaties of 1919, which have maintained all over Europe hotbeds of conflict, have raised a series of problems that are very difficult to

¹ A high officer of the German Reichswehr, who came into prominence owing to his critical observations on the 1914-18 war.

settle by peaceful means. In this struggle we need power. To create this power is our most urgent task.

GENERAL VON SEECKT. From "Die Zukunft des Reiches", 1929, p. 157. Bibl. I, 56, p. 150.

THE martial will must not go to sleep among the people. We shall never lose sight of our real aim, which is to preserve, at whatever cost, the martial will of the German people. . . .

Extract from the Steel Helmet publication
Stahlhelm, No. 36, 8 Sept. 1929.

THE present German Minister for Foreign Affairs must follow the example of Bismarck. His order of the day must be: 'France is our enemy, consequently the enemies of France are our friends. Therefore let us unite with Italy.'

Der Angriff,¹ no. 77, 25 Sept. 1930.

[*Editorial note.*—The following programme of revenge drawn up by the Grand Master of the Neo-Teutonic Order (*Funfdeutscher Orden*), M. Mahraun, published in the review *Der Meister*, is quoted by General von Deimling in an article printed in the *Berliner Tageblatt* for 23 April 1926:]

The troops of German francs-tireurs—without the participation of the Reichswehr—invade Poland, harass and destroy the Polish army. On the other side Russian troops enter Poland and fraternise in that country with the German army. Thus is created the powerful eastern army, which undertakes the struggle against the capitalist democracies of the west. Meantime, Germany must be abandoned as far as the Elbe. In the region evacuated only small detachments of francs-tireurs must remain, entrusted with the task of holding up the march of the French, who come to a halt on the Elbe. Along this river the Russo-German armies make the first stand against the invader. After the reorganisation of the Russian army the joint advance of the eastern peoples against the West begins.

Bibl. I, 56, p. 43.

. . . The Pan-German movement became for decades the only logical and active representative of German liberation. No one recognised so clearly as Hasse and his successor Class that a recovery of Germany

¹ Organ of the National Socialist Party.

under the post-Bismarckian system would be impossible. The concept of 'National Opposition' was created in Plauen by Class. This leader, too, became the butt of the full force of Jewish hatred. In Austria the struggle was led by Schönerer, with the special aim of combating the militant Roman Church and Judah. The life-work of the valiant General von Liebert, chairman of the Reich League against Social Democracy, who shared as early as 1866 in the German war of unification, has to-day been crowned with success through the destruction of Marxist Social Democracy by Adolf Hitler. It was a hard struggle and a long, weary way, to prevail against the lack of understanding of the post-Bismarckian governments. One of the most fearless fighters against the most fateful of all Reich Chancellors, Bethmann-Hollweg, was Professor Freiherr Hans von Liebig, to whom it was unfortunately not granted to see the harvest of his sowing.

Many of the younger generation similarly went to their graves without seeing the day of liberation: Dietrich Eckart, the German poet, Artur Möller van der Bruck, the spiritual pioneer of the Third Reich who did not want to survive the disgrace of the time.

... That which to-day is beginning to become a reality, the German State, did not arise at one stroke and not without struggle and sacrifice. Generations have passed without seeing this day, for which they gave their life and work. Lagarde was one of the first to recognise that the Bismarckian Reich had not yet brought the realisation of the ideal of a German State. In his *Deutsche Schriften* he had the courage to show, in the true conservative spirit, what the new Reich lacked, and he proved right.

BARON W. VON MÜFFLING. 1933. Bibl. IX, 106, p. 16.

IN contrast with Fascism, the National-Socialist movement places racial regeneration and race hygiene in the centre of its ideology. The first task was to sharpen the vision for the physical and spiritual differences between the various races and, further, to make every provision for the preservation and increase of the bearers of valuable racial qualities. One requirement of racial hygiene is the prevention of the procreation of racially inferior people. It ought not to be possible that drunkards, the insane, the feeble-minded, etc., should produce a posterity with such tendencies. Dr. Hans F. K. Günther, who under the first National-Socialist Government in Thuringia was appointed to the chair of Social Anthropology in Jena, basing himself

upon Gobineau and Chamberlain, had called the attention of wide circles to the significance of the individual races. His standard works were disseminated in nearly 100,000 copies. In heredity research and racial hygiene Professors Erwin Baur, L. Fischer and Fritz Lenz occupied leading positions. Professor L. Bauer, through his researches in plant biology, promoted to a decisive extent the solution of the food problem for our people, so that we might make ourselves as independent as possible of foreign countries. The doyen of living teachers of the racial interpretation of history, Professor L. Schemann, is the founder of the Gobineau Society.

Dr. Alfred Plötz, pioneer of racial hygiene without a precursor, who traced the inadequacies in man to deficient heredity, has personally won the majority of the racial hygienists of the present to work in the service of racial hygiene, and given this spiritual movement its organisation. Dr. Schallmayer, who unfortunately died prematurely, gave, at the turn of the century, the first comprehensive representation of racial hygiene in his book, *Heredity and Selection*. Dr. Ernst Rüdin is recognised as the leading figure in the world in empirical heredity prognostication for racial hygienic purposes. Of the younger generation, R. Walther Darré has come to the foreground through his standard works, *The Peasantry as the Vital Source of the Nordic Race* and *New Nobility of Blood and Soil*. Dr. Karl Astel, as leader of the racial hygiene bureaux of the Reich Leader School, tests on a wide basis the feasibility of methods of racial hygiene. Dr. Rechenbach, Dr. Astel and Dr. B. K. Schultz manage the SS Racial and Settlement Bureau founded by Reichsführer of SS Himmler. The leader of the Reich leader school, Major Kühne, ret'd., member of the Order *Pour le Mérite*, promotes with deep understanding racial hygiene in the S.A. Professor Dr. Stämmeler has rendered service particularly through his activities as a lecturer and his book *Racial Hygiene in the National State*.

W. VON MÜFFLING. 1933. Bibl. IX, 106, pp. 32-3.

THE PIONEERS AND CHAMPIONS OF NATIONAL-SOCIALISM

[*Editorial note.*—In the first edition of his pamphlet, entitled *Wegbereiter und Vorkämpfer für das neue Deutschland* ("Pioneers and Champions of New Germany"), published by J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, Munich, in May 1933, Baron Wilhelm von Müffling states that it would naturally be impossible to quote the names of all the Germans who work for the Hitler National Movement (*Hitler Volks-*

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bewegung) or who brought about the spiritual preparation for German resurgence which had begun the moment when far-sighted men foresaw the disintegration of the Bismarckian Empire.

The list contains therefore only 168 names of founders of National-Socialism and their official *Pangerman* precursors. It is striking how large a number of professors and teachers are to be found in this list.]

The principal founders of New Germany are:

Reich-President von Hindenburg,
Reich-Chancellor Adolf Hitler.

PRECURSORS OF NEW GERMANY

Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927), Boetticher (Paul de Lagarde) (1827-1891), Prof. Dr. E. Hassé (1846-1908), Justice Heinrich Class (born 1868), General E. von Liebert (born 1850), Prof. Dr. Baron Hans von Liebig (1874-1931), Dietrich Eckart (1868-1923), Prof. Dr. A. Möller (1876-1925), Georg von Schönerer (1842-1921) (Austria), Dr. Georg Schott (born 1882).

REICH GOVERNMENT

Reich Ministers 1932/33: Reich Vice-Chancellor Franz von Papen, General von Blomberg (War), Baron von Neurath (Foreign Affairs), Dr. Wilhelm Frick (Interior), Hermann Goering (Air Force), Dr. Josef Goebbels (Propaganda), Paul von Eltz-Rübenach (Railways), Dr. Alfred Hugenberg (Agriculture, Food and Economy), Count L. von Krosigk-Schwerin (Finance), Dr. F. Gürtner (Justice), Franz Seldte (Labour).

LEADERS OF GERMAN AGRICULTURE

Baron C. von Wangenheim (1849-1926), Dr. Diedrich Hahn (1859-1918), Dr. Rösicke, Dr. Gustav Ruhland (1860-1914), Walter Darré (born 1895), Werner Willikens (Member of the Reichstag) (born 1893), Claus Heim (born 1884).

GERMAN PUBLISHERS

F. J. Lehmann (defined as "Pioneer in the sphere of Raciology and Racial Welfare"), Max Ammann (Zentral-Verlag-Eher), W. Bischoff (Brunnen-Verlag), Dr. Th. Ch. Heinrich Stalling, Theodor Weicher (Völkischer Verlag Th. Weicher), Gustav Pezold (Albert Langen-Georg Müller Verlag), Hermann von Hase (K. F. Köhler-Leipzig), Dr. Ernst Böpple (Volksverlag).

GERMAN POETS AND WRITERS

Werner Beumelburg, Ernst Jünger, F. Schauwecker, Hans Grimm,

Hermann Burte, Hanns Johst, E. G. Kolbenheyer, Werner Jansen, Wilhelm Schäfer, Countess Edith Salburg.

MILITARY ORGANISERS

General H. von Seeckt (Founder of the Reichswehr), Count Rüdiger von der Goltz, Paul Schulz, Dr. G. Escherich, General Karl Litzmann, Siegfried Wagner, H. Müller-Brandenburg.

RACIAL MOVEMENT

Paul de Lagarde, Prof. Dr. L. Schemann, Dr. Alfred Plötz, Prof. Dr. E. Baur, Prof. Dr. Fritz Lenz, Prof. Dr. Hans F. K. Günther, Prof. Dr. Martin Stämmeler, Prof. Dr. A. Bartels, Dr. med. Karl Astel, Th. Fritsch, Dr. Wilhelm Stapel, Dr. B. K. Schultz, Dr. W. Hartnacke, Dr. Horst Rechenbach.

POLITICAL WRITERS

Rudolf Böhmer, Theodor Fritsch (editor of the *Hammer*), G. Hartz, C. Holtz (editor of *Fridericus*), Adolf Stein, Adalbert Volck, Count Ernst zu Reventlow, M. E. Moritz, Alfred Roth, Dr. Wilhelm Stapel.

GERMAN LAWYERS

Count v.d. Goltz, jun., Prof. Dr. F. Grimm, Baron v. Gayl, Prof. Dr. Baron Axel v. Freytag-Loringhoven, R. Hoffmann, Dr. W. Lütgebrune, Dr. Hans Frank, Dr. Everling.

GERMAN SCIENTISTS AND ARTISTS

Prof. Dr. Adolf Bartels, Prof. Dr. Ernst Krieck, Prof. Dr. Joh. Stark, Prof. Dr. Philipp Lenard, Prof. Dr. P. Schultze-Naumburg, Prof. Dr. Max Kutschmann, Dr. med. Erwin Liek, Prof. Dr. Hans Pfitzner.

NATIONAL ECONOMY AND GERMAN RECONSTRUCTION

Karl Helfferich, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Fritz Thyssen (. . . "Nationalistic Industrial Leader of considerable importance"), Emil Kirdorf-Gelsenkirchen (. . . "one of the greatest nationalistic industrial leaders of Germany"), Dr. Paul Bang, Prof. Dr. Lawaczeck, Dr. Th. Adrian von Rentelen, Dr. G. Feder.

GERMAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Guida Diehl, Baroness Charlotte v. Hadeln-Natzmer, A. Lehmann, Dr. K. Schirmacher, Dr. Margarete von Tiling.

THE FOLLOWING NAMES OF NATIONAL SOCIALISTS ARE GIVEN:

†Schlageter, †Horst Wessel, Prince August Wilhelm of Prussia (brother of the ex-Crown-Prince), Dr. Werner Best, Ph. Bouhler,

H. Brückner, Walter Buch, Wilhelm Brückner, Dr. Leonardo Conti, Dr. R. Buttmann, Dr. Otto Dietrich, F. Christiansen, W. Funk, Count Helldorf, Rudolf Hess, Edmund Heines, Hermann Esser, A. Frauenfeld, K. Fichler, K. Hierl, H. Himmler, H. Hinkel, R. Jung, Hanns Kerrl, Dietrich Klagges, Erich Koch-Königsberg, Baron Manfred v. Killinger, W. Kube, Dr. Ley, v. Levetzow, Dr. J. Lippert, Prof. Dr. Mergenthaler, Dr. H. Müller-Darmstadt, W. Marschler, Albert Pietzsch, Fritz Reinhardt, Ernst Röhm, Alfred Rosenberg, Bernhard Rust, Hans Schemm, Baldur v. Schirach, Rudolf Schmeer, Xaver Franz Schwarz, Ludwig Siebert, Franz Stöhr, Dr. Hellmut Stellrecht, Gregor Strasser, Julius Streicher, H. Volck, Adolf Wagner, Gerhard Wagner, Ferdinand Werner.

W. VON MÜFFLING. 1933. Bibl. IX, 106.

DURING the Soviet régime in Munich great public meetings were held at which hatred against the rest of Germany, but particularly against Prussia, was preached with so much success that a North German would only have risked his life in attending one of those meetings. These meetings often ended in senseless shouts: "Away from Prussia! Down with the Prussians! War on Prussia!" and so on. This feeling was openly expressed in the Reichstag by a particularly brilliant defender of Bavarian sovereign rights revived when he said: "Rather die a Bavarian than rot as a Prussian."

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, cf. pp. 456-7 (German ed.).

FOREIGN POLICY can never be conducted in a democratic, only in an aristocratic fashion by men in whom Germans place their trust . . . and since at bottom German foreign policy must be inspired by designs of *Machtpolitik*, availing itself of pacifist forms for tactical reasons only (in view of Germany's deficiency in arms), its supreme object cannot be anything other than to enhance and rebuild German power.

FRIEDRICH WOLTERS. 1927. Bibl. VIII, B. 120
(cf. I, 30, p. 645).

WE Germans will never be free of this condition of servitude unless we at last grasp the fact that our enemies can only be impressed by force, by brutal force. . . . Without an Army we shall never be free—that should be well noted. Therefore—away with all the peace jugglery, all the promise politics, away with the thousand times

accursed defencelessness, with the continually betrayed desire for justice! Only the firm will for freedom will save us. But then there will be born an Army that will earn us the respect of the world. Michel [the German equivalent of "John Bull"—*Translator*], get back to your martial spirit, then you will not be without a sword for long! . . . The will to fight, the capacity to fight, and a strong German Army—then your servitude will be over.

Alldeutsche Blätter, 1929, p. 101.

HERE, on the Vistula, the war will last eternally, if the Poles dare to remain there. There will never be peace in the East so long as Poland dares to remain there.

. . . Germany will have no more natural enemy than a restored Poland.

K. BARK, *Deutsche Wacht am der Weichsel*,
Leipzig and Zurich, 1931.

WE should understand at last that the war of 1914-18 was only the first great conflict of the present century. We should recognise the signs which—in the midst of the pettiness of our present day-to-day politics—stridently point to the *great decisions* which we must bring about if we are not to allow the source of life to be stopped up for us for ever.

Deutsche Zeitung, 24 May 1931.

It is thus that, late enough and at the price of truly enormous sacrifices, the League of enemy Nations achieved its tenaciously pursued end, which consisted in taking from us, by the Diktat of Versailles, valuable German territories and millions of faithful German brothers. For ever, it believes. For a brief space of time, we believe, and we believe it with the utmost conviction.

Pamphlet published by *Reichzentrale für
Heimatsdienst* (Reich Central Office for
Home Service). Bibl. II, 46.

AT the "summer parade" of the Stahlhelm at Rastenburg (East Prussia) in 1929, the following "Deutsches Schwertlied" was sung:

Then wilt thou drive the French canaille
Over the Rhine, over the Rhine, into the sea,
Then wilt thou dictate a new peace,
Then none will enslave thee again!

Bibl. II, 15, p. 158.

It's not books that I wish for,
Nor toys that I desire,
But, as a German boy, I want
Only a trusty sword,
To stab with, to strike with,
So that when I grow to manhood,
In Germany's day of freedom,
I may defend the Fatherland.

JOACHIM RIEDEL, *Jungstahlhelm*, Christmas
Number, 1929.

ADVERTISEMENTS

1. Patriotic 32-year-old former "Fehme Murderer", trained plumber and fitter, about to marry, seeks situation as porter where flat available. Will carry out all repairs (as plumber and fitter).

2. Patriotic former "Fehme Murderer", theologian, seeks suitable employment.

Deutsche Zeitung, 12 March 1931.

I HATED the dirty revolution of 1918 from the first day as a betrayal by the inferior part of our people of the strong, unexhausted part that had risen in 1914 because it could and would have a future. Everything I have since written on politics has been directed against the powers who, with the aid of our enemies, had entrenched themselves on the mountain of our misery and misfortune, in order to make that future impossible.

OSWALD SPENGLER. 1933. Bibl. VIII, A. 68, p. 7.

THE dualism of Reich and Prussia, which has existed since that unfortunate day in 1918 and which has furthered the weakening and ruin of the politics of the German Reich, and indeed did the same to Prussia, has at last and for ever and in everything disappeared. Prussia, following its ancient victorious mission and tradition, must now become the corner-stone of the Reich. As Prussia grew out of the Mark of Brandenburg, so did Germany then grow from Prussia.

HERMANN GOERING, Speech at a meeting of the
Prussian Landtag, 18 May 1933, dealing
with the mission of Prussia in the Third
Reich. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 47.

THE people of the pre-war period only occupied themselves earnestly with few exceptions with the necessary practical consequences of a triumphant, definite idea. . . . They carried on with world commerce and technology, and though they developed armaments, they lived superficially, optimistically, without sensing the gravity of an impending fate. Until, finally, in July, 1914, the dark clouds appeared on the horizon and the storm broke. Then, suddenly, the whole world realised that the essence of this life consists not in doing business, but in fulfilling a great destiny which no nation—one way or another—can escape. . . .

In 1914 the German people threw off all foreign incrustations and with those August days of 1914 there began the German Revolution.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, Speech in the Kroll Opera House, 22 Feb. 1934. Bibl. II, 16A, Vol. 2, pp. 269-70.

THIS is the road along which the German people, after inevitable convulsions, is now proceeding. It stands on the threshold of a national renaissance. Rejecting the poison of internationalism and pacifism, it dares once again to proclaim itself German on German territory. The German Renaissance has two principal missions:

(1) To summon up the soul of Germany from the depths to perform its national, cultural and political task, so that on German soil all thought, all action and all speech shall be German; and

(2) To combine German territory throughout its whole extent into a unified and therefore powerful state, whose boundaries will be far wider than those of 1914.

These are the two goals for which every German must strive.

EWALD BANSE. 1934. Bibl. VIII, E. 3, p. 403.

. . . preparation for future wars must not stop at the creation, equipment and training of an efficient army, but must go on to train the minds of the whole people for the war and must employ all the resources of science to master the conditions governing the war itself and the possibility of endurance. In 1914 we had a first-class army, but our scientific mobilisation was bad, and the mobilisation of men's minds a thing undreamed of.

EWALD BANSE. 1934. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 405.

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THE sword will come into its own again, and the pen, after fourteen years of exaggerated prestige, will be put in its place. The sword has lain rusting in the corner for fourteen years in the German countries, while the pen has had the stage to itself; and as a result we have gone to the dogs. Certainly the pen is good, but the sword is good too and often far better, and we want both to be equally honoured among the German people. A man can only protect himself against assault with the sword; if he tried to do it with the pen he would make himself ridiculous and get the worst of it. . . .

The pen is good and the sword is good. But the sword is the older weapon, and it is the final, the ultimately decisive one—therefore it should have first place.

EWALD BANSE. 1934. Bibl., *ibid.*, p. 427.

THUS the Imperial Reich collapsed in the conflagration of the war, yet it was in the war that that third generation grew up which after the hardest struggles is to-day engaged in building up a new Reich that consciously links up with the work of Bismarck, while at the same time surpassing it in decisive questions.

WILHELM MOMMSEN. 1935. Bibl. VIII, B. 73A, p. 9.

WAR is the secret master of our country; peace has merely the function of a simple armistice between two wars.

Deutsche Wehr,¹ Dec. 1935.

DURING the years of the so-called peace, politics—total politics—have only a meaning in as much as they prepare for total war.

ERICH LUDENDORFF. 1933. Bibl. VI, 39.

THIS essay is designed to show: firstly, that we need colonies, even more urgently than we did before the world war; secondly, that they were taken away from us in a dishonest, hypocritical manner offensive to our national honour; thirdly, that we have a moral and legal right to their return.

PAUL ROHRBACH. 1935. Bibl. V, 160, p. 7.

WE hope to leave the contemplation of reason to others, we do not wish to have anything to do with it. We have forgotten how to deal with the world solely by reason. We know that outside Germany

¹ Founded in 1896.

only too many forces still exist which are concerned only with seeing that reason should not prevail. For the victory of reason must be the end of them. Thanks to many bitter experiences we have preferred to do everything possible to see that we should not be dependent upon the reason of the world. We have done everything possible to protect ourselves against reason!

Our army and our weapons are in the last resort the best guarantee of peace.

RUDOLF HESS. 1938. Bibl. V, 86, p. 172.

DURING the period 1924-1930 the immense sum of more than £2,000,000,000 (reckoning the British £ at 12½ Reichsmarks) was advanced to Germany by foreign creditors.¹

HJALMAR SCHACHT. Bibl. I, 25, p. 283.

. . . taken individually, National Socialism can show excellent achievements, and there is also little objection to many of its foreign political moves from the national point of view, considering the distressed condition of the German nation.

HERMANN RAUSCHNING. 1938. Bibl. V, 136 (a), p. 457.

THE disintegration (or partition) of Germany means here that the left bank of the Rhine shall be annexed by France, or become a puppet State under French control; that East Prussia, with Danzig, the Corridor, and parts of Silesia, shall become Polish; that Sudetenland shall go back to a restored Czechoslovakia; that Austria shall be assigned to the Habsburgs . . . the aim of all this being the permanent political impotence of the German people, whose activities are to be restricted to intellectual culture, industry and agrarian production. . . .

OTTO STRASSER. 1940. Bibl. V, 195, p. 54.

WHAT could the disintegration of Germany signify, really, but that such a "liquidation" of the War would eternalise the heavily armed and tense condition of Europe? It would signify that the Germans would concentrate their energies on unsettling the settlement, and

¹ The admission that Germany received foreign credits to the amount of £2,000,000,000, made by the man who for long years was the practical economic dictator of Germany, is interesting as disclosing the financial sources of German armaments, which were subsequently employed against the very Powers who advanced credits to Germany.

that the other nations would have to concentrate theirs on trying to maintain it.

Peace? That would not be peace, but an armistice filled with hatred, an armistice whose duration would be limited by the strain put upon the victors to keep adequately armed—a strain that would grow worse the longer the armistice lasted.

OTTO STRASSER. 1940. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

MORE difficult is the question of the Corridor. Here two vital interests are in conflict: The German interests in direct contact with an outlying portion of the Reich, and the Polish interest in a route to the sea.

The recognition that both these interests are vital makes a solution all the more urgent, in order to avert causes of unceasing friction. To begin with, the Germans must admit that for them the only vital matter is the part of the Corridor which ensures direct communication between Pomerania and East Prussia. . . .

A solution only becomes possible when we include the Baltic States in the domain of the matters at issue between Germany and Poland, and this will have the advantage of also helping us to solve the extremely difficult Vilna problem.

OTTO STRASSER. 1940. *Bibl., ibid.*, p. 93.

NEW GERMANY will . . . offer Poland her help in regaining Eastern and Southern Poland. . . . The offer of military aid in regaining Eastern and Southern Poland will do more than the payment of indemnities in hard cash to manifest a complete change in the relations between Germany and Poland, and will react upon the negotiations for Danzig and the northern end of the Corridor.

OTTO STRASSER. 1940. *Bibl., ibid.*, p. 94.

CHAPTER VII

VAE VICTIS! THE FATE RESERVED FOR THE VANQUISHED. COLONISATION AND COMPULSORY MIGRATION

A few more centuries may pass before it can be said about the Germans that it is a long time since they were barbarians.

J. W. GOETHE: *Eckermann's Gespräche mit Goethe*, Thursday, 3 May 1827. Brockhaus, 7th ed., iii, p. 114.

The German name and the German race have become and are becoming more universally and more intensely hated among all the people in all lands than any name or any race of which history bears record.

WINSTON CHURCHILL: Speech on
7 May 1941.



Photo by Keystone View Co.

HITLER (BORN IN 1889)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

What attitude would a victorious Germany adopt towards the vanquished? Let us have no delusions about this. For over a hundred years Germany has been waiting impatiently for such a moment, mercilessly reiterating the while: Vac Victis.

The subjected nations are to become nations of slaves, whose sole object of existence is to work for the nation of 'Lords'. Their culture is to be destroyed, so that German culture alone may lord it in the German Lebensraum. Their intellectual classes are to be extirpated, so that the vanquished nations may not have their own moral leaders. Their cultural and historical memorials are to vanish from the face of the earth, so that the slave nations shall forget their free past. The grey crowd of slaves, and above them the victorious German nation—such is the new European order of which Germany has been dreaming for a hundred years, and is already beginning to realise on the continent, especially in Poland.

The present fate of Poland will enable the reader to visualise to what German thought leads and for what it is striving. What Governor-General Doctor Hans Frank said to the Poles at Christmas 1940 would be repeated by other German governors-general to other nations in the event of a German victory. For that matter, Herr Frank himself clearly confirmed this at the annual meeting of the Academy of German Law, held at Munich on 22 November 1940, when he said:

"The General Government [i.e., the 'German-occupied' area of Poland, as distinct from the 'incorporated' area of Western Poland.—Eds.] is the best example of what the 'New Order' will look like in countries which are to be spheres of German rule."

To-day the Poles have to look on while the German invaders destroy their national memorials, carry off their libraries and museums, close their schools, murder their intellectual class, evict millions of people from their homes, farms and workshops in order to hand them all to German colonists. To-morrow other nations would have to look on while the same thing happened in their lands, if the Germans succeeded in gaining hegemony in Europe.

Hitler has declared that his object is to rebuild the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. In the sixteenth century the frontiers

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of that Empire embraced more than half the Christian world, and through all the Middle Ages the German Kaisers dreamed of uniting all Christendom under their sway. The Reich Office for the Ordering of Space which was recently set up on Hitler's instructions is without doubt studying the method of arranging the German Weltraum not only on the European continent, but beyond it. The Germans are treating Poland as an area for experimentation, which is paid for with the blood, tears and possessions of the Polish nation.

The present war is being waged over the issue whether other nations are to have the right to exist in freedom beside the German nation, or whether they are to carry for ever the yoke of triumphant German hegemony.

The nature of the 'New Order' which the Germans are to bring into the world has been clearly and precisely described by President Roosevelt. We may recall in conclusion the memorable words which he spoke on 29 December 1940:

"The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend to dominate not only all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

"It was only three weeks ago that their leader stated this: 'There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other.' And then, in defiant reply to his opponents, he said this: 'Others are correct when they say: "With this world we shall never reconcile ourselves." I can beat any other Power in the world.' So said the leader of the Nazis.

"In other words, the Axis not merely admits but proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government. . . .

"They may talk of a new order in the world, but what they have in mind is only a revival of the oldest and the worst tyranny. And that is—no remedy, no religion, no hope.

"The proposed new order is the very opposite of a United States of Europe or a United States of Asia. It is not a government based upon consent of the governed. It is not a union of ordinary self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression. It is an unholy alliance of horror and terror to dominate and enslave the human race."

... the more implacable the *vae victis*, the more secure is the subsequent peace; in the Middle Ages a vanquished people was annihilated. To-day this is no longer physically possible, but it is nevertheless possible to think out terms that approach very closely to annihilation.

Deutschland bei Beginn des XX. Jahrhunderts.

Bibl. II, 13, p. 215.

WHO in the future is to do the heavy and dirty work which every national community based on labour will always need? . . .

. . . Is it to be left to any part of our German people to occupy such helots' positions?

The solution consists in our condemning alien European stocks, the Poles, Czechs, Jews, Italians and so on, who live under us or find their way to us, to these helots' occupations.

ERNST HASSE. 1905. Bibl. V, 75 (a), pp. 61-2.

. . . The acquisition of non-colonised countries is rather a social and economic necessity; the expropriation of the non-Germans a necessity dictated by racial interests.

JOSEPH LUDWIG REIMER. 1905. Bibl. VIII, B. 81,
pp. 157 ff.

To anyone who has learned to think historically it will sound hair-raising to demand that a country inhabited by Europeans should be "evacuated". . . . But if we penetrate to the very core of the special situation of the German people, which is tied up in Europe and may possibly, through further considerable growth, become asphyxiated, we must recognise that the position may arise where they must demand from the vanquished enemy de-populated land in the West or East.

HEINRICH CLASS (pseud. Daniel Frymann).

Bibl. V, 20, pp. 140-1 (1914, 5th ed.).

MUST civilisation raise its temples upon mountains of corpses, seas of tears, the deathrattles of the dead? Yes, it must. If a people has the right to domination, its power of conquest constitutes the highest moral law, before which the vanquished must bow. Woe to the vanquished!

COUNT VON HAESELER.¹ Bibl. I, 39 (a), pp. 124-5.

¹ Field-Marshal Count von Hülsen-Haeseler (1836-1919).

. . . War must leave nothing to the vanquished but their eyes to weep with. Modesty on our part would be purely madness.

OTTO RICHARD TANNENBERG. 1911. Bibl. IX, 153,
p. 304.

WE have one advantage over our enemies: They have no watchword, they do not know what they are fighting for, for whom they are letting themselves be shot dead. They carry the heavy baggage of a bad conscience for having attacked a peace-loving nation. But we are marching against the enemy with the storming kit of an easy conscience. . . .

The enemy must be vanquished completely and I will dictate the peace terms at the point of my soldiers' bayonets.

KAISER WILHELM II, Address on 7 Feb. 1915.
Bibl. II, 11, Vol. i (1915), p. 180.

IN the circumstances we are of the opinion that, if necessary, the employment of Belgian workers outside Belgium, that is, in Germany, is indicated.

. . . The situation is different with regard to the lazy elements, of whom a considerable number still exist in Belgium and to whom a decree recently issued by the Governor-General relates. . . . We are of the opinion that His Excellency von Bissing ought also to take measures against these people who endanger the public health of their country, and put them to work where there is work, no matter if, again, it is outside Belgium.

Berliner Lokalanzeiger, 27 Oct. 1916, no. 552.

THIS pillage has also been effected in France, in the domain of textile and mechanical industries. . . . At this moment the economic losses inflicted on France amount to several thousand millions.¹

GUSTAV STRESEMANN. 1915. Bibl. V, 196, p. 50.

IN determining and fixing the conditions of peace the supreme law for us must be: to abolish all cosmopolitan feelings . . . that dangerous objectivity in favour of the enemy.

HEINRICH CLASS. Bibl. II, 65, p. 26.

¹ *Ed. note.*—And he anticipates that the ruthless exploitation (*rücksichtslose Ausbeutung*) of the territories occupied in France, especially as regards raw materials and articles of food, may result in their ruin. Moreover, he jests on the subject and congratulates German industry on thus being rid of a formidable rival. Bibl. I, 16, p. 198.)

WHEN the territory of the Reich embraces all the Germans and finds itself unable to assure them a livelihood, only then can the moral right arise from the need of the people to acquire foreign territory. The plough is then the sword; and the tears of war will produce the daily bread for the generations to come.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, p. 1.

AGAINST all this we, National Socialists, must stick firmly to the aim that we have set for our foreign policy; namely, that the German people must be assured of the territorial area which is necessary for it to exist on this earth. And only for such action as is undertaken to secure those ends can it be lawful in the eyes of God and our German posterity to allow the blood of our people to be shed once again. Before God, because we are sent into this world with the commission to struggle for our daily bread, as creatures to whom nothing is donated and who must be able to win and hold their position as lords of the earth only through their own intelligence and courage. And this justification must be established also before our German posterity, on the grounds that for each one who has shed his blood the life of a thousand others will be guaranteed to posterity. The territory on which one day our German peasants will be able to bring forth and nourish their sturdy sons will justify the blood of the sons of the peasants that has to be shed to-day. And the statesmen who have decreed this sacrifice may be persecuted by their contemporaries, but posterity will absolve them from all guilt for having demanded this offering from their people.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 531.

A SHREWD conqueror will always enforce his exactions on the conquered only by stages, as far as that is possible. Then he may expect that a people which has lost all strength of character—as is always the case with every nation that voluntarily submits to the threats of an opponent—will not find in any of these acts of oppression, if one be enforced apart from the other, sufficient grounds for taking up arms again. The more numerous the extortions thus passively accepted so much the less will resistance appear justified in the eyes of other people, if the vanquished nation should end by revolting against the last act of oppression of a long series. And that is specially so if the nation has already patiently and silently accepted impositions which were much more exacting.

ADOLF HITLER, *ibid.*, p. 544.

THE application of force alone, without moral support based on a spiritual concept, can never bring about the destruction of an idea or arrest the propagation of it, unless one is ready and able ruthlessly to exterminate the last upholders of that idea even to a man, and also wipe out any tradition which it may tend to leave behind.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 151-2.

GERMANS: we are thankful that we can celebrate the second War Christmas here, united, we Germans from the Reich and you of German stock (*Volksdeutsche*) from the former Poland. This house is of tremendous importance to us, for we are now in a position to celebrate the festival of peace. Once again we realise the meaning of the Christmas Tree, which has been for thousands of years the symbol of this time of the year. This tree brings us the sacred message that the German nation is called upon to establish securely through Adolf Hitler's victory, peace in Europe. This peace, Germans, for which the Führer is now fighting, will be the final peace of Europe. It is the greatest gift which, thanks to the Führer, the German nation is giving to the nations of Europe.

Again, we must remember those to whom we owe this freedom in the east, who won it for us. We remember the German soldiers who by order of the Führer have set up in this country the banner of German authority and security and have thus opened the road for us.

Many thousands have paid for this goal with their lives. Far-flung over the whole of the General Government, the graves of our soldiers bear witness to this. They do so on the hills, in the towns, along the rivers, where they lie all by themselves. These German men have given what was most dear to them. They have carried out the Führer's order so that you Germans in this country might live in peace.

Many a mother, many a parent, many a wife, fiancée and child will this Christmas specially remember their dear ones who lost their lives in the Polish battles. These men came from all the German tribes, from Bavaria, the Ostmark, the Sudetenland, Würtemberg, Schleswig-Holstein, the Rhineland, East Prussia, Silesia. They all came and fought as worthy representatives of Germany. Here they are laid to their last rest. However, when remembering all these graves it is important that they should not inspire only mourning and woe. Rather are they a call to recognise that the highest good, the

greatest gift which Almighty God has given man is to be a German. It is the greatest gift of Heaven to be able to call oneself a German, and we are proud to master the world as Germans, where Adolf Hitler has set up a Reich which reaches from the Atlantic to the Bug, from the Pyrenees to the North Cape; everywhere there the German war-flag flies. Never before have we been so great and so exalted. Never before was there in us such a mighty glow of the mission of the German nation.

It is the Führer who again lit this candle of pride in the German nation, who made the light of hope and joy of life to shine.

Therefore, dear men and women of German stock, and you Reich Germans in the General Government, this belief in the Führer is our most sacred thought, and therefore the most sacred thought of our present celebration. He who sits in lonely sublimity (*Er, der einsam erhabene*), he is incomparably great in his uniqueness: thus he watches over German life. He, Adolf Hitler, emerged from the people (*von der Tiefe des Volkes*). To-day he is called upon to be the Leader of the world, unhampered by anyone. It is he who again made shine this German light.

My dear comrades, in his last great speech the Führer again stressed that we must wage this war as our highest duty for the sake of peace and justice and for the sake of a new and better order in Europe. The Führer does not wage this war because he wanted to bind the laurel of victory around his temples. He did not begin this war; it was forced on him, and to-day, at the end of 1940, Adolf Hitler stands before the world as the greatest victor, the greatest war lord of history. We greet this great founder of the Greater German Reich and we express to him our glowing gratitude.

We must establish in this territory for the first time a State authority. Poland has been divided and these 20 years from 1918 to about 1938-9 will not recur, and never again will the German people be so weak that they can be treated in such an unheard-of manner as happened in consequence of the events of November 1918. This land is German, and will remain German, and never again will anyone be able to cast any doubt on the authority of the German State; and just because we are so strong it is our duty to foster this strength. It will by no means do simply to say, I suppose this strength will last. We must foster this strength. We must show ourselves constantly erect and united. We must fit in with the great order of Germany.

And the Poles, they must not forget that they have themselves to thank for their fate. In this area the Poles have no mission. If they had a mission, then the Almighty would have blessed them and that would have meant that they would not have acted so miserably in this land. And to-day I want to profess myself to the opinion that it was high time for the Polish State to be broken up.

If the Poles wish to retain their liberty and their religious rights they must loyally do their duty, and this duty is: work. Under the protection of the German Reich and the German nation, the Poles can live their lives, but only so long as they loyally do their duty in this General Government.

We Germans in this territory can only last if we realise continually that we have a great mission to fulfil here. Only those will be allowed to work here who carry in their breasts the firm belief in the mission of the German nation. Whoever desires nothing but wealth and plenty cannot exist in this territory. Beyond everything we must foster the unity of our nation.

The Almighty has made this German nation so that it may carry the light into the wilderness. This light will create the greatest values that ever existed on this earth. You, my young comrades, boys and girls of the Hitler Youth, it is for you to build up your lives on this future light of the German community while the bells are rung to herald the work of the Führer. The Führer gives you this future, he gives you this powerful Reich. At last after many centuries the Führer gives you this united German nation.

HANS FRANK, Speech at German Christmas
Ceremony at the Old Theatre in Cracow.
Broadcast in German for the General
Government (occupied Poland), from
Warsaw, 21 Dec. 1940.

. . . The higher a nation stands racially, the greater must be its requirements. The German needs more housing space and a better standard of life than the Poles and the Jews. If it should be asked, By what right? the answer is, By the right of self-assertion. We Germans want to be co-leaders in this world because that position is due to us on the basis of achievement.

ROBERT LEY, Conclusion of a speech delivered
9 November 1940. *Deutsche Allgemeine
Zeitung*, 10 Nov. 1940, no. 539.

THE Commandant of Graudenz announces: "To the Polish inhabitants of the town of Graudenz. During the night of 21-22 inst. irresponsible elements affixed to the walls at various points of the town posters inciting to violence. I thereupon ordered the arrest of several hundred more hostages. They will all die if even the mildest attack against the life of a German occurs. Any attempt to disturb the peace of the town will be suppressed by the most rigorous means.

Weichsel Zeitung (Marienwerder),
25 Oct. 1939.

TEN SABOTEURS SHOT

ON the night of 21-22 October the homestead of Superintendent Fritz, a German national, located outside the village of Petztin, in the Tuchel district, was set on fire by Polish bandits. The Superintendent died of heart failure.

At the instance of the Head of the Civil Administration, a punitive measure has been carried out in the village, in order to convey to the guilty bandits that such cunning acts will be avenged with extreme severity. By way of retribution and as a deterrent, ten Poles known for their anti-German attitude have been shot. In addition, the Polish population of the district has been ordered to re-erect the burnt-down buildings and make good the entire damage.

Care is being taken that such incidents should not recur, and that all elements who resist the restoration of ordered conditions should be frustrated. The majority of the population support the measures of the German authorities, as it means everything to them to be able to live in peace under the firmly established German administration.

Weichsel Zeitung, 23 Oct. 1939.

ANNOUNCEMENT

IN order to counter the insolent attitude of part of the Polish population, I decree as follows:

1. Polish inhabitants of either sex must give way on the pavements to representatives of the German Forces recognisable as such by a uniform or armlet. The street belongs to the victors, not the vanquished.
2. Polish inhabitants of the male sex must raise their hats to leading personalities of the State, Party and the Forces.
3. Poles are forbidden to give the German salute by raising the right arm or the "Heil Hitler" salute.

4. In shops and markets representatives of the German Forces and members of their families, as well as German nationals, must be served first. Only then is it the turn of the vanquished.

5. The wearing of Polish school uniforms, caps with badges, etc., as well as the wearing of Polish national emblems by Polish railway and postal employees, is forbidden.

6. Gatherings, particularly of juveniles, in the streets and at street corners will not be tolerated.

7. Anyone molesting or accosting German women or girls will receive exemplary punishment.

8. Polish women accosting or molesting German nationals will be sent to brothels.

9. All vehicles and cycles must be made visible after dark by lamps and rear lights. Offenders will be punished, cycles will be confiscated. Until lights are fitted the owners of vehicles must dismount at dusk.

10. The instructions of the National Socialist Motor Squad (traffic police) must be obeyed.

Traffic regulations will be published shortly.

Should Poles who have not yet realised that they are the vanquished and we the victors infringe the above decrees, they will be exposing themselves to the most severe penalties.

THORN, 27 October 1939.

State Police Commissioner
(sd) WEBERSTÄDT.

THE TOWN COMMISSARY
AT LESLAU (WLOCLAWEK)¹

To Mr. (Mrs.)

For reasons of public security you are to be deported immediately from the territory of the German Reich.

This deportation covers also all members of your family, viz.

.....
Within twenty minutes after the receipt of this order for deportation you, together with all members of your family, are to be ready for departure, and are to wait in the street outside your house (front entrance). You must strictly obey the orders given by the police officials.

¹ This is the reproduction of a Summons sent by the German authorities in the German-occupied town Wloclawek (Poland) to individual persons who are to be deported. *Leslau* is the new German name for Wloclawek.

You may take with you:

1. One set of warm clothing (to be worn).
2. One woollen rug per person.
3. Food for several days.
4. Requisites and cutlery for eating and drinking.
5. Identity documents and birth certificates.
6. Not more than 200 zloty in Polish currency.
7. One suitcase with strictly necessary clothing.

You are not allowed to take:

1. Securities or bonds of any description.
2. Valuables in gold or silver, or jewellery.
3. Furniture of any kind.
4. Livestock (dogs, cats, birds, etc.).

It is strictly forbidden to lock doors and cupboards or to take away the keys. 1939-1940.

APPEAL of the Local Party Committee in view of regrettable incidents:

Comrades!

Our way of treating war prisoners is as gallant as our way of fighting the war. It is only natural that all unnecessary rigours should be avoided. But we must not forget that every prisoner of the Polish war is a member of the nation which before that war brutally killed thousands of Germans, of the nation which, owing to its belligerent foolishness, has forced war upon us and which has cruelly maltreated German war prisoners. Our national dignity forbids us to have any relations with Polish prisoners, even such as were noticed recently, when they were offered cigarettes whilst cleaning the streets of our town. This kindness is out of place, and furthermore it causes difficulties to the guards, whose duty is in any case no easy one.

If this urgent warning is not obeyed, the guilty will be punished accordingly.

Salzburger Volksblatt, 8 Feb. 1940, no. 33.

BECAUSE the Polish agricultural worker has satisfied his needs, the German peasant easily makes this remark: "You may say whatever you like about the Poles, but in any case the worker I got is an honest man."

Peasant of Uckermark, treat your Pole with just severity. The Pole is astute and false.

Uckermärkischer Kurier, 15 Feb. 1940, no. 33.

FATE RESERVED FOR VANQUISHED

GERMAN CLAIMS

IN this regard there is unanimity among all elements to be reckoned with that the land in the East is to become a hundred per cent German (*dass das Land im Osten zu Hundert für Hundert deutsch wird*) and that in future property belonging to a non-German national is not to exist in that area at all (*und dass es fremdvölkischen Besitz dort in Zukunft nicht mehr geben soll*.)

Kölnische Zeitung, 21 Nov. 1940.

Editor's note.—The article speaks of German colonists transferred from the Lublin district (Poland), which—

‘within the framework of the Reich is to form the motherland of the Poles (*Heimstatt der Polen*), and will travel to the Warthegau, there together with other repatriated Germans to co-operate in the building up of a peasant province in the Warthe basin (*Bauernwartheland*).

“... This reconstruction can be completed only after the war, when the German peasants at present under arms can be settled freely in the Warthegau. Anyone regarding these operations as a matter solely concerning the German East is underestimating their importance. It is a question of creating here a new German national peasant stock, which in the future will labour for the good of the German people and the German Reich.”

Kölnische Zeitung, 22 Sept. 1940.

WRITING of a new State organisation created by Hitler and called *Reichsstelle für Raumordnung* (Reich Office for Space Planning), the author of the article states that the task of this new office is:

“to fill the unpopulated (*menschenleere*) and terribly neglected areas in the East by settling German peasants, German business men and workers in those areas, so that as a result a truly German country shall arise.”

Further, the article continues:

“... The Land in the East (*das Land im Osten*) is to become a German peasant country (*Deutsches Bauernland*). Excluding the industrial region of Upper Silesia we have some 50,000 square kilometres (about 20,000 square miles) of agricultural land at our disposal. Obviously great agricultural estates will not be created there, but small peasant holdings (*bäuerliche Familienbetriebe*).”

Kölnische Zeitung, 21 Nov. 1940.

THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE POLISH TERRITORIES DENUDED OF POLES BY GERMANS (1940)



"More than 450,000 Germans have been resettled during the war.

The first 63,000 settlers came shortly after the German-Polish campaign from the *Baltic* countries. They were followed by the 135,000 Germans of *Volhynia*, *Galicia*, and *Narow*. Then there began the regrouping of the 31,000 Germans from the *Cholm-Lublin* region, who exchanged their farms and former occupations in the *Warthegau*. Next there began the great South-European migration. The 90,500 German nationals (*Volksdeutsche*) of *Bessarabia*, 90,000 of Northern and Southern *Bukovina*, and the 14,000 Germans of the *Dobruddja* have begun their journey to the Reich.

As regards the return of the *Southern Tyrol* Germans: part of the 185,365 people who have opted for Germany will arrive in the Reich, according to the scheme, in the course of the year."

(From "*Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*", Nr. 2, January 1941.—Article by *Wolfgang Weber*, entitled: "*Der Führer rief sie*")

IN the Eastern incorporated areas Germanism must be strengthened and supported by all means. It is necessary that many of our kinsmen and kinswomen should transfer their homes to these Eastern incorporated areas. It is also urgently necessary that many of our kinsmen should develop enterprise in these areas, either as agriculturists or as craftsmen, industrialists, or members of the liberal professions. The spirit of enterprise and the creation of capital must receive particular support in these areas. The new regulation of the Minister of Finance and the Minister for Internal Affairs serves this purpose. This regulation governing taxation assistance to the East (*Ost-Steuerhilfe-Verordnung*) provides machinery for easing the conditions of existence (*Lebenshaltung*) and for facilitating economic life (*Wirtschaftsführung*) chiefly down to 1950.

FRITZ REINHARDT, Under-Secretary of State in the Reich Treasury. Speech at Poznan, on 10 Dec. 1940. *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, 11 Dec. 1940.

THE object of the reliefs given to the German Colonists by the Reich is:

"to give a tremendous development to the industry, commerce and cultural life of these lands". "The newly incorporated Eastern areas should become purely German regions, inhabited by merry German people."

Völkischer Beobachter, 13 Dec. 1940.

THE chief task of 1941 must be:

"the development of the organisation of the Hitler Youth in the Polish areas incorporated with the Reich, and also the development of propaganda for the agricultural profession among the youth".

Reichsjugendführer AXMANN, quoted in *Thorner Freiheit*.

IT is well known that the entire political leadership in the General Government has become an exclusive affair of the Germans. . . . It is clear beyond doubt that the Germans in this area henceforth claim for ever undisputed leadership. The administrative system established within the past twelve months is to last not for a time of transition but as a permanent institution.

Das Reich, 27 Oct. 1940.

COLONISATION AND COMPULSORY MIGRATION

ORDER BY FIELD-MARSHAL GOERING

THE HAGUE, 7 June 1940.

The General Field-Marshal noticed to-day that the soldiers of the Dutch armed forces, in contrast to the civilian population, do not salute the General Field-Marshal correctly, nor are the Generals accompanying him, or the officers, being saluted.

I have myself stopped a few soldiers to-day, who gave as an excuse that they did not know the signs of the ranks of the German armed forces.

The General Field-Marshal therefore orders:

1. If, as from 8 a.m. to-morrow morning, 8 June 1940, there is no fundamental change in the attitude of the Dutch soldiers and officers, General Winkelman¹ and ten other Dutch Generals or higher officers of the Dutch Armed Forces will immediately be taken to a German concentration camp, there to receive instruction regarding the saluting of, and attitude towards, German officers, for at least three weeks.

2. All soldiers of the Dutch Armed Forces who are found not to salute German officers, will be sent for at least three months to concentration camps in Germany, to learn saluting and, under the circumstances, the signs of the ranks.

All Dutch soldiers must salute German officers politely, and must be the first to salute.

General Winkelman is to be informed of this order at once, and he is to be reminded of to-day's conversation, and the fact that the General Field-Marshal is no longer prepared to tolerate the violation of his orders by Dutch soldiers.

General Christianson may make this known to General Winkelman immediately, because if the General Field-Marshal is again not saluted in Amsterdam by Dutch soldiers to-morrow morning (8 June 1940), the above order comes into force at once.

Addition by the Commander of the Armed Forces:

The Commander of the Armed Forces requests General Winkelman to take the necessary measures on the basis of this order immediately, so that the consequences can be avoided.

For the rest, the interview of General Winkelman with General Christianson will take place as arranged, at 11 o'clock on 8 June 1940.

Verified by: Orzon, Lieutenant-Colonel.

¹ Dutch C.-in-C.

COLONISATION AND COMPULSORY MIGRATION

... on 5 July I issued my first proclamation in which I warned you against giving away any information to the enemies of Germany. I warned you against acts of sabotage and against acts harmful to the defence powers of the Reich. I emphasised that such acts were to be punished according to German martial law. Notwithstanding this special warning, acts of sabotage have been committed. . . .

Not only the author of such an act, but the whole community wherein it is committed will be punished and a heavy fine will be imposed on the place of residence of the authors. . . .

18 August 1940.

GENERAL CHRISTIANSON.¹

Quoted by: *Netherlands Press Agency*, Vol. iii.

THE German Court at The Hague to-day sentenced the Rector Magnificus of the Rotterdam College of Commerce, Professor C. W. de Vries, to 18 months' imprisonment and a fine of 3,000 guilders, on a charge of listening-in to prohibited broadcasts. . . . In a lecture on 3 September 1940 defendant had referred to the Dutch people's attitude towards the former Royal Family, and in order to establish his point, openly quoted from a broadcast address which had been given from a prohibited station. His actual words seem to have been: 'As I have myself heard on the wireless and as you probably all have heard . . .' . . . The Public Prosecutor pointed out that this was a serious case as defendant was a lawyer, high school teacher and Rector, also Chairman of the Dutch Civil Service Court. . . . It was stated that on other occasions too defendant had made remarks calculated to encourage defiance of the German authorities.

Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden, German weekly at The Hague. Cf. *De Telegraaf*, 18 Oct. 1940 (Amsterdam).

WHEN I was entrusted with the administration of this country on 2 August 1940, I was firmly convinced that the people who live here are of German descent, are of German blood, speak the German language, and that in consequence I could win over Germans for Greater Germany. . . . To-day the estrangement between the Germans in Luxembourg and in the Reich can be regarded as over. . . . There are, of course, people who oppose this. But we regard them as people influenced by propaganda. For eight years we have shown in Germany that we can win such people for the National-

¹ Commander-in-Chief of the German Forces in occupied Holland.

Socialist cause. If it has been possible to do this in the Reich, it is also possible here. . . . If some foolish person somewhere hits upon the idea of forming a committee for the liberation of Luxembourg, this may amuse a National Socialist but will not shake him. It does not shake us if a fir tree is set up somewhere containing a few little flags in the old Luxembourg colours.

GAULEITER SIMON. Extracts from a speech made on 5 Jan. 1941 to a mass demonstration of political leaders and official leaders (*Amtsleiter*) of the German Movement and the German Youth of Luxembourg. Broadcast in German for Luxembourg, 9 Jan. 1941.

MANY countries have come under German rule—Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium. . . . The Slav peoples apart, what is going to happen to the Teuton nations? . . . These nations must be won over. . . . Now and in the future the Germans will show that they really have something to give them, not only a better system of economics or things material or protection, but a conception of morality. . . . Let us consider what they have had: the standard of life was high; within human memory there had been no national disaster, no war. A quiet, conservative life. . . . Haven't the Germans destroyed all this? Let us consider also what we have to offer at the moment—no coffee, rations, British blockade, stringent organisation, no shipping, air raids. . . . Material gain we cannot hope to offer so long as the war lasts. . . . And yet we hope for a youth that will with us change Europe and the world that belongs to Europe, that will heed the call addressed to it to help lay with us the foundations for the coming age of the great Teuton Empire, that longs for the day when under the Swastika it will find honourable service, sword in hand, as the bearer of a new ideal which will shape the centuries to come.

Das Reich, 27 Oct. 1940.

ALL the alien elements in the country should be expelled, because they are bound to maintain a state of perpetual dissension among the Alsatians.

ROBERT WAGNER, Gauleiter for Alsace.
Interview published by the *Völkischer
Beobachter*, September 1940.

SEVENTY thousand Lorrainers have arrived in the Free Zone having had to abandon everything—their homes, their possessions, their villages, their churches, the cemeteries where their ancestors sleep—everything that interested them in life.

They have lost everything. They come seeking shelter from their French brothers. They are on the verge of winter without resources. Their sole possession is their pride in remaining French.

They accept their unhappy fate without complaint, without recrimination. For they are Frenchmen of pure race, courageous souls with valiant hearts. Living near the frontiers, they have suffered during centuries more than anyone else from the rigours of war.

I realise as you do the full burden of their distress. The Government is doing all it can to lighten their misfortune and give them the means of livelihood—work.

But these Lorrainers merit something better. They must have a welcome from the heart such as you would give your brothers or your parents.

MARSHAL PÉTAİN's message—Broadcast from
Marseilles, on 3 December 1940.

THE French have lost Alsace definitely and for all time. Even beyond the Vosges everyone who has any sense of the significance of the recent far-reaching developments must realise this. But of course the French have lost something more than just Alsace. They have lost their entire predominance, which they had gained in 1918 owing to a sham victory. We can imagine how hard the adjustment must be. But there is no other possibility. All attempts on the part of France to evade this issue would only be to the detriment of that country. The French nation, if it wished even now to go on indulging in its delusions, would be faced by an even worse "too late", excluding it from the new European order.

Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten, official daily
"for German Alsace", no. 42, 12 February
1941.

CONCLUSION

For a good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit; neither doth a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

St. Luke, Chapter vi, Verse 43.

IN the foregoing pages we have seen how the Germans write, speak, and think. Our selection of quotations from the most authoritative representatives of German thought enables the reader to fathom the depths of the soul of Germany, and to realise why the German nation has been a second time the cause of a European, nay more, a world catastrophe.

During the years 1914 to 1918 our own generation experienced the first act of the tragedy provoked by pernicious German thought; now for more than a year we have been experiencing the second act of the same tragedy. Only by acquiring a fundamental knowledge of the modern soul of Germany and stripping ourselves of all illusions in regard to that soul may we avoid for ourselves or for the coming generation the third and last act, which in all probability would at last bring the Germans victory and hegemony over the world. That victory would connote the destruction of the freedom of individuals and nations, and also the end of contemporary civilisation based on the Greek and Christian traditions. Then indeed would be realised the prophecy of the Norse Edda:

Wind time! Wolf time! There shall come a year
When no man on earth his brother man shall spare.

It entirely depends on the nations which defeat the Germans in this war whether they will a second time lose the peace. Though they lost the last war, during the twenty years following 1918 the Germans won the peace, and this enabled them not only to unleash a second war, but to come much nearer to victory in 1940 than they had in 1914-18. The victors of 1918 did not gather the fruits of their four years of gigantic effort, for they believed the German propaganda that the responsibility for the war rested only on Kaiser Wilhelm II and his clique, and not on the entire German nation, which thenceforth was to be a model of democracy and progress to all Europe.

CONCLUSION

The Western world so thoroughly believed in this sudden transformation of the soul of Germany that it did all it could to help the Germans to forget their defeat and to make a quick recovery.

One need only recall the enormous investments of foreign capital which the Germans utilised to develop their industry, without which they could not even have thought of waging a modern war. Altogether the German Reich paid eleven milliard marks to the Allies in reparations, inclusive of reparations in kind, while during the same period they were lent twenty-six milliards, as Dr. Schacht has himself admitted.¹ The net gain to the Germans was some fifteen milliards, which were utilised for the development of German industry, and therefore in preparations for war.

The Germans are now paying the interest on these unwise investments in the form of bombs, torpedoes and magnetic mines.

When the camouflage of a 'democratic' Republic ceased to be necessary, Germany disclosed her former features, those we knew from 1914 to 1918. But in the event of a second defeat the soul of Germany, infected with the dangerous disease of hatred and lust for power, will once more be hidden behind a new mask—the mask of 'revolution'. It will again be suggested that Hitler, like the Kaiser, did not represent the Germans, but that he imposed his will on them, and they do not wish to be answerable for him.

On that day public opinion in the victor countries must recall the bitter experiences of the years 1918 to 1939, and remember that a repetition of this same error will lead to the same, or even to far worse results. Magnanimity to the Germans, defeated a second time, will

¹ "During the period 1924-30 the immense sum of more than two milliard pounds (reckoning the British pound at 12½ Reichsmarks) was advanced to Germany by foreign creditors." From an article by Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, at that time a Reich Minister and President of the Reichsbank (in: "Germany's position in World Economy", contributed to *Germany Speaks*, by 21 leading members of the Party and State, with a preface by Joachim Ribbentrop. London, 1938, p. 283).

It may be added on this occasion that Herr Otto Strasser (in his book *Germany To-morrow*, London, 1940, pp. 90-1) suggests that in case of a defeat of the German Reich in the present war, the United States of America should once more help Germany! He writes as follows: "The payment of reparations by New Germany to Czechoslovakia (and Poland) is a matter of obvious justice, the assessment of their amount will be a matter for enquiry and negotiation.

"Inasmuch as Czechoslovakia and Poland will both desire prompt settlement of accounts, whereas Germany after Hitler is not likely to have much cash or credit available, the only practicable way of raising funds would seem to be an international loan, the bulk of which would probably be subscribed in the U.S.A." . . .

be opening the surest road to a third war, which Germany will wage under a new Führer, a worthy successor to Kaiser Wilhelm II and Hitler. Even during the 1914-18 war the Germans fully realised that they were waging the *first* war for hegemony. For instance, in March 1916 a German historian wrote: 'We are waging *the first Punic War* against England.'¹ There were three Punic wars. If it is desired to avoid the third 'Punic' war the truth must be faced more boldly, and with the foresight which characterises the following warning delivered by Colonel Knox, United States Navy Secretary, in his speech on May 16, 1941:

"We can rest assured that when Germany and its will to force is ultimately defeated in Europe, another Hitler 20 or 30 years hence will be able to do the same in an even shorter period of time if the world again relinquishes its policing power."

We would like to believe that this book will constitute a positive contribution to a realistic estimate of the soul of Germany, and afterwards to the foundation of a lasting peace after the second German defeat.

No better conclusion to this book could be found than certain words of the late Earl of Cromer, written on 4 September 1916. For those words, at that time all too prophetic, are even more valuable as a warning to us during these days of the second German war:

'It is essential that, before the terms of peace are discussed, a clear idea should be formed of the reasons which led the German Government to provoke this war. Otherwise, it is quite conceivable that a peace may be patched up, which may have some specious appearance of being favourable to the Allies, but which would at the same time virtually concede to the Germans all they require in order, after time had been allowed for recuperation, to renew, with increased hope of success, their attempts to shatter modern civilisation and to secure the domination of the world.'²

END

¹ Article by Prof. Conrad Bornhak: 'Der geschlossene Handelstaat Fichtes', in no. 11 of *Grenzboten* for 15 March 1916, pp. 336-7.

² André Chéradame, *The Pangerman Plot Unmasked*, London, 1916, pp. xiii-xiv.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GERMAN THOUGHT

INTRODUCTION

IN the countries where moral civilisation goes hand in hand with material and technical civilisation, the literate public as a whole do not like reading books that offend their fundamental convictions on morality, religion or justice.

No doubt, the political literature of all countries contains nationalistic or even chauvinistic extravagances by this or that individual author. But these are only isolated phenomena, and are incapable of influencing the great current of public opinion. The sole exception in this connection is Germany. There, the pan-german idea has become so deeply rooted in political and even scientific literature that the views of the average German have been moulded by it, and, what is far more serious, the Germans are the first and only people to reject the traditional morality which is Europe's heritage from the Greek world and from Christianity. This morality sets certain limits to nationalism, and therefore constitutes an intolerable obstacle on the path to German hegemony. The Germans, a "master race", reject with disdain the precept of neighbourly love—a striking illustration of the abyss that separates Germanic morality from European morality.

One would search in vain in English, French or American literature, even for minor authors, who have dared or would dare to subvert the principle of morality, glorify war and raise it to the level of a dogma or religion, cynically declare that racial selectivity is due to the benefits of war, or assert that the best way of colonising a territory is to eliminate the indigenous population by means of expulsion; and if such authors arose in this or in any other civilised country, they would probably end their careers in a mental home. It is true that Houston Stewart Chamberlain was of English origin and that Gobineau, one of the promoters of the idea of German racial superiority, was a Frenchman. But is it not significant that the former was obliged to become a renegade and assume German nationality, in order to find a favourable atmosphere for his extravagances concern-

ing the "mission" of the "Aryan" race, while Gobineau, who was treated with a certain degree of ridicule in France, should have scored a resounding success precisely in Germany?

As we have said, the average European has an aversion for this type of literature, and prefers to dwell among ideas that correspond to his principles and aspirations; the other kind he tries to ignore and, sometimes, treats with contempt.

But this attitude involves grave risks. If one does not know the intentions of a dangerous man, one may unconsciously fall under his tutelage or walk into the trap set by him. That, indeed, is what has happened in Europe in the twentieth century. If we had given more attention to the thousands of books written by Germans for Germans, painting a portrait of themselves, we should have better understood, before 1914, in 1919, and before 1939, the immense dangers that were accumulating on the political horizon.

These dangers emanated from the Reich. Had we studied the past and the present, we should easily have realised that German thought has always been evolving in the direction of a chauvinistic, pan-german *Gleichschaltung* in the sense of vanquishing all the other nations, and that the German nation *has always been a menace to Europe*. Had we read more of German "self-portrait" literature, we might have created a current of opinion by whose aid this menace could have been parried in time, that is, before the German hordes ploughed a course for rivers of blood and tears across the peaceful, smiling countries of Europe. We should certainly have understood better—and earlier!—the German menace before 1914, and would have avoided making the erroneous distinction between good-natured, "sentimental" Germans and "brutal Prussians" then, as well as repeating the same error later, after 1933, when we were told about the good German masses as something very different from their Nazi "oppressors".

All these errors were the consequence of ignorance which, in turn, arose from failure to look at and analyse the "self-portrait".

For these reasons we think we are serving a good cause in presenting here a bibliography of what may be called German thought—though, in view of the enormous material, it must necessarily be an incomplete one. The reader will find in this list the names of nearly all the famous, notorious and other Germans—king-emperors, statesmen, politicians, clergymen, authors, scientists, men of all parties and creeds—who have either gradually moulded or reflected German

thought for nearly two centuries. We have purposely omitted, with a view to being objective, to indicate authors, like Nietzsche or Hölderlin, for example, whose works have been exploited later by their pan-german followers, but who were not pan-germans themselves.

After perusing these gleanings from a vast literature which it would take a life-time to study, the reader will perhaps have a better understanding of the events of the past, the events that are occurring in the present and—last but not least—the events that threaten to recur in the future.

He will realise, for example, that the lamb-like Stresemann of Locarno and Thoiry had been Active Member no. 24 of the Pan-German League (*Alldeutscher Verband*) as early as 1914 and remained faithful to it until the end of his life. He will begin to have his doubts about the many German refugee “pacifists”, who are to-day coursing around in England or in the Americas, lest they are in fact merely preparing to play the same rôle as Stresemann, should the occasion arise. He will, above all, comprehend that all Hitler has done has been to translate into action a programme which other Germans before him—more educated, but less intuitive or less dynamic—had been drawing up and preparing for a long time.

In the present bibliography the reader will find only a brief and provisional guide indicating works on the most varied problems by German authors who have worshipped or are worshipping the Germanic gods, either openly or covertly.

In order the better to demonstrate how deeply the German way of thought has penetrated to all classes of Germans, without exception, thus shaping the mind of this people of uncertain instincts, we have arranged our bibliography not in the customary chronological order, nor according to subjects, but according to the authors’ professions, as follows:

1. Heads of the State and Heads of the Nation.
2. Statesmen, Politicians, Diplomats and other Government officials.
3. Military Leaders and Military writers.
4. Members of the Church.
5. Scientists and especially High School Teachers, grouped as follows:
Philosophers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Historians.

Philologists.

Lawyers, Economists, Sociologists.

Medical Men and Natural Scientists.

Geographers.

6. Journalists and Men of Letters.

7. Artists, Musicians and Miscellaneous.

In conclusion, we emphasise that we have no other aim than to point once more to a grave problem affecting Europe, conscious as we are of the fact that the best way of serving justice is to tell the naked truth, without attempting any subjective comment.

Let the reader draw his own conclusions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GERMAN THOUGHT¹

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These volumes contain extracts from German writers, given in French translation, with important introductory commentaries to each volume by the editor. Prof. Andler states that Germany assumed the mission of organising the world into an integrated humanity, and illustrates his thesis by quotations from the works of German philosophers, politicians, scholars, etc., since the eighteenth century. (a) Vol. I, "Les Origines du Pangermanisme (1800 à 1888)", contains extracts from Dietrich von Bülow, E. M. Arndt, Friedrich Jahn, Friedrich List, Helmuth von Moltke, Bismarck, von Treitschke, de Lagarde and C. Frantz. (b) Vol. II, "Le Pangermanisme continental sous Guillaume II (1888 à 1914)", contains texts on economic nationalism from Julius von Eckardt, William II, Prince von Bülow, Dehn, Lange, Bley, Hasse, Count zu Reventlow, Albrecht Wirth, Rohrbach and Maximilian Harden. (c) Vol. III, "Le Pangermanisme colonial sous Guillaume II (1888 à 1914)", contains extracts from Alfred Zimmermann, von Stengel, Woltmann, B. von Werner, Dernburg, Krael, Schäffle, Vosberg-Rekow, Unold, Class, Joachim von Bülow, Th. Schiemann, Friedrich Naumann, G. Hildebrand, etc. (d) Vol. IV, "Le Pangermanisme philosophique (1800 à 1914)", contains texts from Fichte, Hegel, Görres, F. Schlegel, Ratzel, Dix, Lamprecht, Langbehn, Driesmans, H. S. Chamberlain, Klaus Wagner and others.

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¹ It is obvious that the attempted classification by the author's professions is a very difficult one. For instance, Paul de Lagarde was a prominent political writer and politician, a theologian, and at the same time professor of oriental languages at Göttingen University. In such cases, the writer has been classified under what seems to the editors to be the most important category.

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III. PANGERMAN LITERATURE (OFFICIAL)

ABBREVIATIONS:

P.G. Flugsch. = Flugschriften des Alldeutschen Verbandes. (Pamphlets of the Pan-German Union, with corresponding number.)

P.G. Kampf. = Kampfschriften des Alldeutschen Verbandes.

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